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*THE Intention
OF Jesus*

Foreword by Walter Marshall Horton
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To my
FATHER *and* MOTHER

First Instructors in the

Intention of Jesus

Foreword

THIS is a revolutionary book. I like it instinctively, because my theology predisposes me to object to the view of Jesus which Professor Bowman upsets, and to accept with joy and reverence the new, revolutionary view which he sets forth in these pages. That, of course, is not an adequate reason for commending Professor Bowman's work to the studious attention of the Christian world. Theological predispositions should not determine our acceptance or nonacceptance of the findings of a New Testament scholar. Quite the reverse. Theologians must base their teaching about Jesus the Christ (at least primarily) upon the most faithful portrait of our Lord that objective Biblical scholarship can paint; and if they do not like the looks of that portrait, they must not retouch it, lest they be found guilty of trying to correct the Wisdom of God by the wisdom of men. The Jesus we like is not the Jesus who can save us. The real Jesus, who *can* save us, is forever affronting our natural likes and dislikes, as he did with his Jewish contemporaries. It is because Professor Bowman has painted what to me is *the most credible speaking likeness of the real Jesus that I have ever encountered* that I earnestly commend his book to all Christian ministers and laymen who wish to know whom they have believed.

Briefly, Professor Bowman's contention is that our Lord's mind moved exclusively within the best traditions of Old Testament prophecy, which John the Baptist had revived, but which were not so nearly dead as is sometimes sup-

posed. In the prophetic tradition, the Messiah was not a nationalistic leader (as in the teaching of the Zealots and the Pharisees) but a "Messiah of the Remnant," calling men of faith *from all peoples* to return (Hebrew *shūb*) to the will of God and be delivered from impending destruction. Jesus combined this great prophetic idea of a Messiah of the Remnant with another prophetic idea which had never hitherto been related to it: the "Suffering Servant" of Deutero-Isaiah. The Voice which he heard at his baptism combined a quotation from a Messianic psalm (Ps. 2:7a) with a quotation from one of the "Servant" passages (Isa. 42:1) — an utterly original and unique combination, which must have been made by an individual mind of supreme prophetic insight, rather than by the mind of the Early Church, as Form Criticism might suggest. From the start, then, Jesus thought of himself (in Aramaic) as God's Suffering Servant, Messiah of the Remnant; which when translated into Greek means "Crucified Saviour, Lord of the Church." Jesus' favorite name for himself was the Messianic title "Son of Man"; but he conceived of his mission in terms not to be understood from the prophecy of Daniel alone, nor from apocalyptic writings such as the Book of Enoch; he thought of himself as One who was first to come in humble anonymity (because the world was not worthy or ready for him), "lowly, and riding upon an ass" (as in Zechariah), to die upon a cross of shame, but who someday, when the saving Remnant he had gathered had passed through the Via Crucis in his train, would come again on "the clouds of heaven" (as in Daniel) to set up God's eternal Kingdom. Concerning the day and hour of that final coming he refused to offer any sign. Indeed, he consistently refused to offer any sign of his Lordship, throughout his ministry, save only the Spirit of holiness that dwelt in all his words and works. But by these

words and works he called men to become members immediately of a New Israel, universal in principle, unified by allegiance to one Lord and cemented by the sacrifice of his body and blood. Jesus *intended* to found the Church, as the earnest of God's eternal Kingdom; and he expected it to outlive the destruction of the Temple and collapse of the old Israel, which he foresaw.

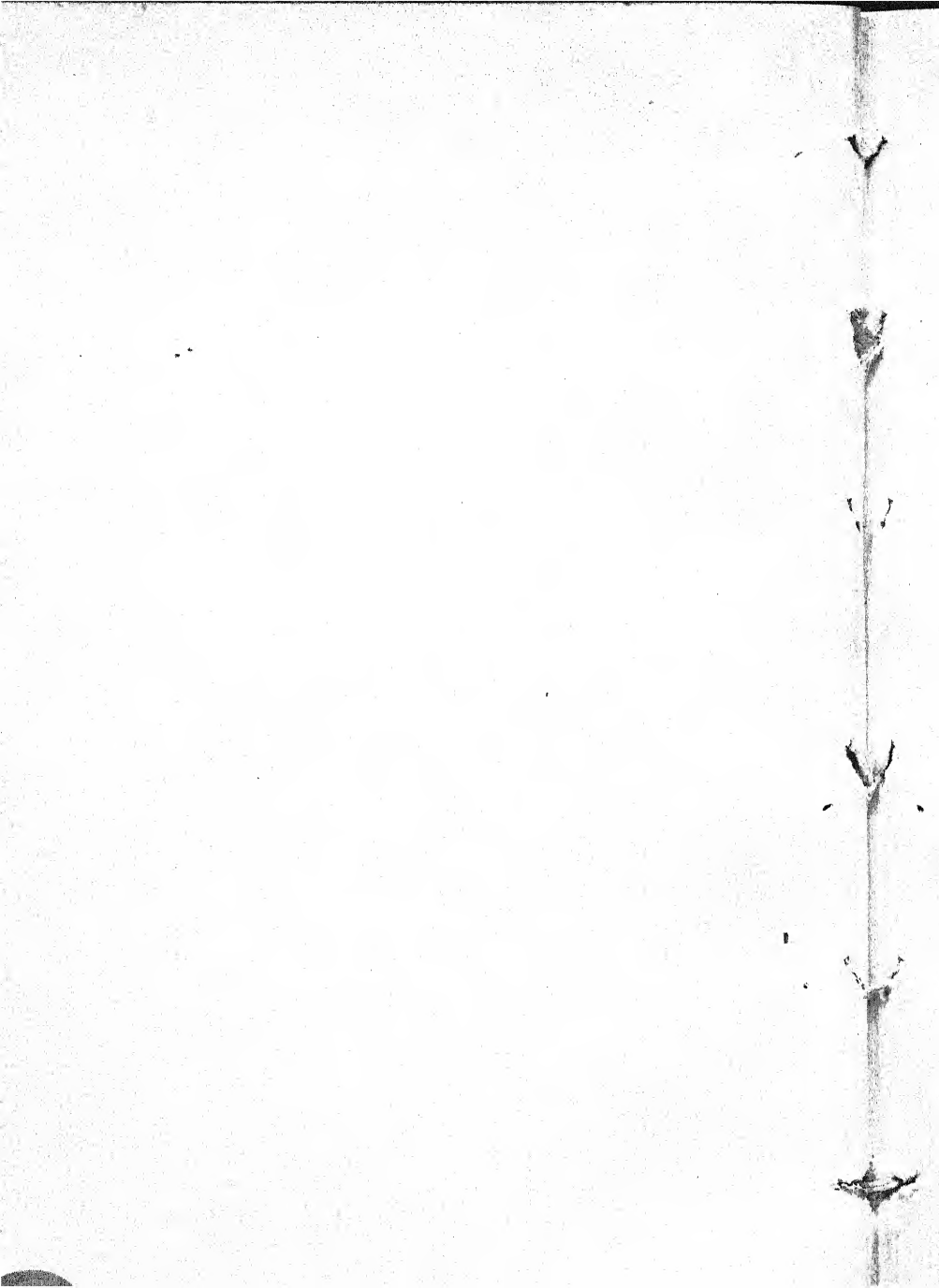
This, in bare outline, is the thesis which Professor Bowman defends with a wealth of scholarly citation (especially from rabbinical sources) and an ability to put two and two together which gives his argument at times the quality of a good detective story. It is for New and Old Testament scholars to discuss this view in detail; but all educated Christians will be interested in its general implications. I foresee a lively debate, on issues of great importance, leading to a real advance in our understanding of the real Jesus.

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Preface

THE *purpose* of this book is to present to the intelligent Christian reader, minister or layman, a distillation of the best results of modern research into the subject treated. The author claims little originality for the discovery of the data presented, and only slightly more for their interpretation. The grouping of these facts and the consequent direction given to the argument they collectively support are, however, his own, and he is prepared to assume responsibility for any errors in judgment which these may entail.

The author's *thesis* may be briefly stated. Jesus' culture was Hebraic, rather than Hellenic or Hellenistic, and within the limits of the Hebraic culture he took his stand squarely, knowingly, and without reservation, with the prophetic strand of that culture. This is not to say that on occasion he did not "borrow" from other strands; but it is definitely to affirm the conviction that, whenever he did so, he accommodated such borrowing to the requirements of the prophetic revelation with which he essentially identified himself. *All* of Jesus' teaching and work, we believe, is rightly understood only if viewed in the light of this choice. So understood and evaluated, a unique sort of originality is seen to emerge with Jesus' appearance on the stage of the Hebrew drama. It is contended that this *uniqueness* is that of Jesus himself and not, as numerous scholars have formerly attempted to show, that of Paul or of the primitive Church in any stage of its development.

With the thought that it may prove advantageous for the reader to have the argument of the book stated clearly in advance, the following outline is offered:

Chapter I. The Church in its Gospels represents Jesus as coming to his task at the call of a prophetic voice and receiving, first the *call* to become, and then *ordination* as, at once the *Messiah of the Remnant* and the *Suffering Servant of the Lord*.

Chapter II. This Suffering Servant, Messiah finds his counterpart in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, where, however, the two concepts are always found in isolation from each other.

It was the fusion of these two that at once generated the spiritual potential which we call the Christian Church and also furnished the foundation, as well as — to some extent, at least — the ground plan, for the Church's theology. Obviously, therefore, *the* problem of all problems for the Christian Church emerges at this point, namely, whose originality was it that brought these two concepts together? Was it that of an *individual* (Jesus), or that of the *community* (the primitive Church)?

In the light of the above statement, it is now pertinent to restate the thesis of the book, as follows: *Jesus and he alone was responsible for the fusion of the two prophetic concepts noted, and everything he ever said or did was motivated by his "intention" to fulfill the demands of the resultant Suffering Servant, Messiah of the Remnant concept.* Accordingly,

Chapter III. This chapter proceeds with a study of Jesus' *word* and *work*, and their uniqueness is found to reside, on the one hand, in their manner of maintaining continuity with the prophetic message at its best, and, on the other hand, in their thoroughgoing redemptive significance.

Chapter IV. The argument continues with an examina-

tion of the phrase "Son of Man," whose originality on Jesus' lips consists solely in the one factor that he for the first time in the history of the Jewish revelation-process attached the humiliation motif to it; this too, it is shown, has both Messianic and redemptive value.

Chapter V. Chapter V discovers Jesus' only claim to Messiahship to reside in the "spirit of holiness" that was in him; it was this that he would have men "come and see" for themselves and so form a judgment regarding his person.

Chapter VI. The book concludes with an analysis of the ultimate "intention" of Jesus, as this is revealed in the sources lying behind our Gospels. This too was unique for his day; for it was none other than the setting up of the Remnant from among all peoples and nations, a piece of Messianic activity in line once again with the prophetic thought at its highest.

In the course of the discussion the views of various schools of thought are presented. The author deemed this essential to an adequate account of the problems raised, as well as to a proper understanding of the reasons for their being raised. It is no purpose of this book, however, to adopt a hypercritical attitude toward the work of these schools. We are of the opinion that much of this work represents merely diverse emphases upon genuine elements of truth which otherwise would have been overlooked. These emphases have their value in the way of *correctives*, if in no other, and without them the Church would undoubtedly be the loser. Our endeavor has been to steer a clear course among them, accepting those items which in our judgment are based upon adequate historical data (and not upon mere opinion, however good), and which in consequence appear to bring us ever closer to an apprehension of the "mind of Christ."

The author frankly accepts what has been termed the *critical* approach to the New Testament's literary and historical problems. This is the approach adopted in all fields of historical research. He does this under the conviction that *in the long run* it would be a distinct disservice to the Christian faith to do otherwise. The proverbial "ostrich" attitude toward truth, arrived at by whatever means and from whatever quarter, when adopted by the devotees of any faith, will in the end spell disaster to that faith. The Christian Church has nothing to hide from anyone; the Master's words were: "What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the house-tops." What is shouted from the house-tops subjects itself at once to the critical appraisal of those who hear. This is the way of the world, and to attempt to dodge this obvious fact is to live in a subjective realm of unreality. The critical attitude toward Biblical problems is the *right* way because it is the *only* way possible in an imperfect world.

At the same time, however, it is in order to enter a caveat concerning the doctrinaire attitude of much that passes for historical criticism. There is far too much reason for the common man's impression that criticism necessarily means *destructive* criticism. The conclusions of both literary and historical criticism have seemed to him to be all *negative*, and that not without some justification. One recognizes that there were reasons why this was so, though it is open to debate whether the reasons were ever sufficiently strong to justify what issued from the critical mill. In any case, however, the day of negations should not last forever. It is a true instinct within the layman's heart which tells him that if the Christian faith represents anything approximating truth, then *it should end in an affirmation*. There comes a time when negative criticism ceases to be relevant.

Professor C. H. Dodd, who holds the Norris-Hulse Chair of Divinity at Cambridge University, said much the same in his *Inaugural* a few years ago. The task of a previous generation of scholars, said he, had been to tear asunder the Scriptural treasures and expose them in their separate characters. That of the present generation must, contrariwise, be to put them together again and so to exhibit the essential unity of the whole. "The centrifugal movement needs to be balanced by a centripetal movement which will bring these ideas, now better understood in their individual character, into the unity of the life that originally informed them." If this book shall have succeeded in a small way in making a contribution toward the achievement of that new unity, it will have served its purpose.

The attention of the reader should perhaps be called to the fact that no attempt has been made in the Notes at the end of the volume to give a complete bibliography of the works dealing with the various subjects treated. This is because of the special point of view from which the book is written. A history of critical opinion would necessarily call for full documentation indicating the works in which such opinion could be found. This book makes no claim to being such a history. It has a thesis of its own to support. Accordingly, such works as are listed in the Notes will be found to make some contribution to the support of that thesis, or else they are noted as illustrations of the contrary opinion.

As the work developed, it became obvious that the special nature of the argument required that certain teachings of our Lord, as well as several of the major incidents of his life, be dealt with in different contexts from differing points of view. We had, therefore, to decide whether simply to refer back to the previous treatment of such passages or to work them over *de novo* from the new standpoint. In

view of the fact that the book has been written with the needs of the general student of our Lord's life and teachings in mind, and not specifically with those of the specialist, to be clear appeared to be more virtuous than to be concise. And so the second of the two alternatives was adopted.

The pleasant task remains of acknowledging the great debt one feels with reference to the work of others laboring in the same field. A delightful fraternity of spirit exists among Biblical scholars which is hardly to be paralleled, one imagines, in other branches of human learning. It is a kind of special form of the "communion of the saints" which must be experienced in order to be appreciated at its true worth. My own indebtedness to writers like T. W. Manson, Frederick C. Grant, Canon B. H. Streeter, and George Foot Moore is evident on nearly every page. Others too numerous to mention have contributed perhaps only a bit less to my thinking and appreciation of the Scriptures.

The substance of the book was delivered as a series of Lenten lectures to the Presbyterian ministers who gather on Monday mornings at the First Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh, and thereafter at the Grove City Bible School. Some of the chapters were also presented in modified form at the School of Religion in the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh. The author wishes to express his gratitude to those who encouraged him to prepare them for these occasions and for the generous approval which they received.

To four friends who have taken pains to look over the book in manuscript my especial thanks are due. These are Professors Walter M. Horton, Ph.D., of Oberlin College, and F. W. Dillistone, M.A., B.D., of Wycliffe College, Toronto University, and my own colleagues, Professors Wil-

liam F. Orr, Ph.D., and Paul Leo, Lic.Theol., both of Western Seminary. All of them have given me of the wealth of their own insights and knowledge without stint, and I have profited, as I hope the book has done also, by their kindly and constructive criticisms, many of which I have incorporated in the following pages.

JOHN WICK BOWMAN

*Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,
October 5, 1942.*

SYMBOLS EMPLOYED

Superior figures in the text refer to the Notes at the end of the book, following the Epilogue.

References to the Mishnah are indicated thus: M. Aboth 1:2. All other rabbinical references are to the Talmud.

The usual symbols for the sources of the Synoptic Gospels have been employed throughout the book. They may be listed as follows:

Mrk is our Gospel of Mark considered as an original source of the other Gospels.

Q is the common material in Luke and Matthew after Mrk is extracted.

L stands for Luke's special source, probably a written one, like Mrk and Q.

M signifies Matthew's special material. Opinion differs as to whether it was written or oral, and as to its being a single document, if written. Here the symbol is employed merely to designate Matthew's special material without commitment as to its nature. *Special Matthew* indicates this material also.

The author calls the Evangelists by their usual names without thereby intending to commit himself to whether or not the real authors of the Gospels were known by these names. He has certain opinions on this point, but a discussion of them is not now relevant.

The Narrow Door—Facing the Cross

“Then said Evangelist, pointing with his finger over a very wide field, Do you see yonder wicket-gate?”

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

SYNOPSIS

OUR canonical Gospels present us with the picture of a Jesus who comes, on the original Ash Wednesday and in the spirit of Joel, ch. 2, to John's baptism of "repentance unto remission of sins." We must accept this account as pure history, because in asserting it the Church has created difficulties for itself. This Jesus is the Church's Lord. Accordingly, from the beginning it has felt called upon to explain the sorry figure he presents as he comes upon the stage of History. It would not gratuitously have made this difficulty for itself.

Why, then, did Jesus so step upon the plane of History? Various answers have been given: Middleton Murry's — because He knew himself to be a sinner as other men; Professor James MacKinnon's — to take a "moral tonic"; T. H. Robinson would accept the account of Josephus as against the Gospel record — He came as one already "righteous"! The solution seems to lie in the meaning of the Hebrew *shūb* (שׁוּב), and the Greek *metanoeō* (μετανοέω) — a turning of the mind and will, in response to the prophetic "voice," away from self and the world, to God.

The Church's answer was: Because he is the Suffering Servant, Messiah. The tradition is examined. The "voice" at the Baptism is called in as testimony; it transpires that this combines Ps. 2:7a, the coronation formula of the Messianic King, with Isa. 42:1, the ordination formula of the Suffering Servant. Secondary passages are also treated. This witness is taken as conclusive evidence of the Church's interpretation of this sorry Jesus. The question, then, is raised: Was the Church right?

I

BUNYAN'S Christian was shown a little "wicket-gate" by Evangelist. Through that narrow passage he must enter upon the Christian way of life. Such, too, was the necessity that was laid upon Christian's Lord, "' the author and perfecter of our faith,'" as he faced his ministry. Indeed, He was the first to go the pilgrim way, and it is for that reason that he is called the "author" and "perfecter" of the way!

By a slight change of metaphor, it is permissible to speak of the opening of Jesus' earthly career by baptism and temptation as the first Lenten season. For the forty days of Lent curiously commemorate, not alone the end, but also the beginning of our Lord's ministry. They precede Easter, it is true, and so are intended to prepare the human spirit for the miracle of the divine Passion and Resurrection. But the number — forty — of the fast days, irresistibly suggests the like period of fasting which our Lord experienced after his baptism.¹

Obviously, then, a proper appreciation of Jesus' lifework is to be arrived at — if we may hold to any hope of attaining it at all — through an understanding of what this first Lent meant for him. And one imagines that no better approach to this problem is possible than that provided by a study of the "epistle" assigned for the first day of Lent, or Ash Wednesday. It is taken from the Prophet Joel and reads in part:

"Yet even now, saith Jehovah, turn ye unto me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto Jehovah your God; for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abundant in lovingkindness, and repenteth him of the evil." ²

It is to be noted that this passage contains certain of the prophetic motifs which were attached to the coming "day of the Lord," to use Joel's phrase, or to the Messianic time, as conceived by other prophets. These were the "weeping" and "mourning" of penitent sinners over their sins; ³ the inward transformation signified by the rending of the heart; the turning to the Lord — repentance; ⁴ and the assurance of God's forgiveness, as suggested in the prophet's characterization of him — "gracious and merciful," "slow to anger," "abundant in lovingkindness."

Add to these certain items from the well-known eschatological chapter which follows in the Hebrew, ⁵ namely, the outpouring of the Spirit, ⁶ the calling forth of the Remnant, and the judgment of the nations, and one has almost all the elements that went to make up the prophetic picture of the coming rule of God among his people. Only the designation of a personal Messiah is lacking in Joel, ⁷ a lack supplied by other prophets. ⁸

It will be well, in the interest of clarity, to list the features

which went to make up the prophets' portrayal of the coming age. They are: (1) the divine "call" to constitute the Remnant; (2) an emotional and ethical response on the part of, not the nation as a whole, but rather of *individuals*, (3) resulting in their "turning" unto the Lord (repentance), and (4) manifesting itself in such outward symbols as "mourning" and "fasting";⁹ (5) the divine forgiveness; (6) the gift of the Holy Spirit; (7) judgment upon the unrepentant, particularly from among the "nations," though not exclusively so; and, finally (8), the presence of the Lord in person, or alternatively, of his Messiah, to bring both the proffered salvation and the judgment.

Now, it is certainly not without the deepest significance that at two points in the early history of the Christian movement, *the Church fastened upon these very elements of the prophetic picture as being peculiarly apt descriptions of certain actual historical events.* One of these was the Church's own experience on Pentecost.¹⁰ On that occasion Peter is reported to have quoted a portion of this same passage from Joel, the part referring to the gift of the Spirit and to the "day" of salvation and judgment.¹¹ Moreover, he is said to have grounded Jesus' authority to give the Spirit on the fact of his exaltation to the status of "Lord and Messiah" (vs. 33-36), and to have identified the "Lord" of the prophet, on whose name the Remnant call for salvation, with this same Jesus (v. 21). In Jesus' name, as a consequence, baptism is preached (v. 38). Finally and as a fitting climax, the people are called to repentance (the "turning" to the Lord of the prophet), with the assurance of the divine forgiveness proffered (v. 38), and stress is laid upon the "promise" being given to the Remnant to whom the "call" of the Lord shall come (v. 39).

Clearly the Church of the apostles visualized its own beginning in terms of the prophetic conception of the Mes-

sianic Age. It is important for our purposes to notice that the general historical accuracy of this picture is vouched for by several considerations. In the first place, the document (The Acts) attesting it, together with the *sources* of that document, is assigned a reasonably early date by modern New Testament scholars. Goodspeed, for example, suggests a date around A.D. 90 and holds it to have been written by Paul's companion, Luke.¹² This may be taken as an average date for the book: some scholars would put it much earlier; few, if any, more than a decade later. All, however, are agreed that the author made use of sources, which were necessarily earlier than his own writing and probably go back to traditional material collected in Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Antioch, including the testimony of eyewitnesses. The exact dates of these sources, the places at which they arose, the persons responsible for their origin, their extent in the book of The Acts as now constituted, and their relative values are still under dispute. Accordingly, nothing final on these questions can at present be said.¹³

Fortunately, however, we need not await a solution of this problem of sources for a decision on the relative accuracy of the Church's self-portraiture. In his *Apostolic Preaching*, Professor C. H. Dodd has shown that the certainly authentic epistles of Paul can be understood only on the assumption that behind Paul's preaching there lay a solid foundation of traditional material which he could assume as known and accepted by the Church as a whole.¹⁴ On analysis this material proves to be the common factor between Paul's epistolary teaching and that found in the sermons reproduced by Luke in The Acts. *And that common factor runs along the lines we have just been sketching.* That is to say, the historic framework of the Church's origins fits nicely into the prophets' conception of the Messianic Era, as one of repentance for sin, of judgment and

salvation, and of the coming of a great Leader for his people.

It is with no common degree of assurance, accordingly, that we may conceive of the origin of the movement which we have come to call the Christian Church as occurring on a sort of Ash Wednesday par excellence! However glorious and great or powerful that movement may have become, the fact seems to be beyond cavil that its beginning was in dust and ashes, in tears and mourning, in confession of sin and turning unto the Lord. The nearest likeness to the Church's infant picture is that of the prodigal in his rags, eating the husks intended for the swine, who is in the act of coming to himself and arising to return to his father.¹⁵ The publican beating his breast and crying out, "God, be thou merciful to me a sinner" ¹⁶ — such is the Church of The Acts, acknowledging its spiritual bankruptcy, mourning for its lost condition, hungering for a righteousness it knows it does not have. It is hardly conceivable that the Church would have written this story of its infancy unless it were essentially true. It is not human nature to do that. Neither does such a story accord with the popular expectations of the Messianic Age held in the first Christian century, as we shall see in Chapter II. And yet the story does reflect the best thought of the prophets from the eighth century B.C. forward.

There is, moreover, as has already been hinted, another Lenten season in the New Testament. This one is in the Gospels, and not at the end but at the beginning of our Lord's ministry. It is written into or, perhaps better, constituted by, the thoroughly unique associations of the two great Gospel figures — John the Baptist and Jesus. No specific reference is made to Joel or his prophecies in the narrating of the series of events in which these two religious leaders hold the center of interest. But the filling out of the

prophet's imagery, point for point, is unmistakable. Here (1) the divine "call" is issued by the Baptist, "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," with (2) a plea directed to the individual conscience, and (3) requiring that men repent and turn unto the Lord, accompanied by (4) assurance of the divine forgiveness or "remission of sins," and (5) the gift of the Holy Spirit, but also including (6) a threat of judgment upon the unrepentant.¹⁷

This relation of the Baptist and Jesus in a Lenten experience raised an acute problem for the early Christian Church, which it tried in various ways to solve. It is important that we also feel the burden of that problem. For it is not too much to say that Jesus' coming to John's baptism confronts us with one of the really vital questions of all time. "What think ye of the Christ?" Yes, but specifically, What think ye of *this* Christ, who enters the arena of the Hebrew revelation and culture in the context of ideas such as we have just been setting forth? What think ye of a Messiah who emerges from the group around a prophet of the desert at his "call" to repentance? who submits to a baptism whose expressed purpose is the remission of sins? who is rewarded with the gift of the Spirit, promised to all penitents? who is driven out into the wilderness by the same Spirit to be *tempted* of the Devil,¹⁸ and to *fast* — this being, as we have seen, the outward sign of the "mourning" for sin within the heart and of the determination to "turn unto the Lord" in repentance?

We call Jesus "Lord" and "Messiah." These are Hebraic terms, or at all events the second is, and the first is probably a Greek attempt to translate the Hebrew concept of the "Messiah" into the pagan thought mold.¹⁹ Was this, then, any way for a Jewish Messiah to appear upon the stage of history? Does the Lord of Israel require to repent of sin within himself? And has he need of the

Holy Spirit to empower him for his Messianic office? Or again, can he really submit to temptation on the part of the avowed enemy of God?

Professor Peake has remarked that "the career of Jesus did not naturally suggest to the Jews that he would prove to be the Messiah."²⁰ Elijah he might be; Jeremiah or another of the old prophets; yes, even John the Baptist himself risen from the grave.²¹ But, Messiah? the Lord come to his Temple? No. This Nazarene, a nameless one who steps out of the crowd to be baptized with the baptism of repentance and then goes out into the wilderness to be tempted — to the Jew such a one could seem no more than a "stumblingblock," never a Messiah!

But what and who shall he be *to us*, this Jesus who entered the human scene by so narrow a door? Here surely is the crucial question. Let him be a "stumblingblock" to the Jews and to the Greeks "foolishness." He will always be such to them. But what is he to be *to us*? This issue we dare not evade. What shall *we* think of this Messiah who enters upon his life's ministry by the narrow door of the Ash Wednesday experience?

Our approach to this problem must be by the way of stark realism. We begin with acknowledging the historic validity of the Gospel record at this point, and to this we must hold at all costs. Jesus did, indeed, come to John's "baptism of repentance unto remission of sins." Moreover, that event was followed by another which can only have been of a piece with it — a period of temptation, when alone he wrestled with the Tempter on the threshold of his ministry. In other words, our Lord's life of service began with an Ash Wednesday and a Lenten season, together with all that those terms stand for of heart-searching, prayer, fasting, and a turning unto God. It is in the light of this undoubted historic fact that his life of teaching and minis-

tering is to be understood, and we may be sure that without an acknowledgment of its historicity there can be no adequate insight into the meaning of that life.

We acknowledge the validity of the Gospel record here, because obviously the Church could not have invented it. It was the Church that wrote the Gospels. And of the historicity of two events which it wrote into those Gospels, certainly no external proof is needed: the one at the beginning, the other at the close of our Lord's career — the baptism-temptation experience and the cross. "The leaders of a new movement do not create gratuitous difficulties for themselves," wrote Professor Peake some years ago, and more recently Martin Dibelius: "No Christian would have invented, in Jesus' honour, a tale in which the Master himself was a recipient of John's baptism"! ²²

From the first the Cross required a vast deal of explaining, and, thanks to the work of the Form Critical school, we now know that the so-called Passion Narratives were the first parts of our Gospels to be written down as an apologetic of the scene on Calvary. This too was the burden of much of the preaching from Pentecost forward, and the apostles were quick to fasten on the Resurrection as the proper point at which to begin, with a view to disarming the prejudice the Cross created.²³ "Jesus of Nazareth, . . . ye by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay. . . . This Jesus did God raise up, whereof we all are witnesses."²⁴ So ran the earliest apologetic of the Crucifixion.

But as the Church went back in imagination over the Lord's earthly career, it became clear that, not the Cross alone, but the Baptism as well, and indeed the whole life and ministry had all along proved a stumbling block to the Jewish people. They heard his preaching, and it is a matter of record that "they were offended in him."²⁵ They beheld the strenuous activities in which he was engaged and

they said, "He is beside himself."²⁶ They saw him calm those "possessed of devils" and they charged, "By the prince of the demons casteth he out the demons."²⁷

In the light of these facts, it is with the utmost confidence that we approach a study of certain of the great timber events that form the scaffolding upon which the Gospel records erect their building. That this scaffolding represents solid historic fact is as nearly certain as anything can be in the field of historical research. For the necessity which the Church felt to be laid upon it to explain or to explain away these hard facts is the surest possible guarantee of their validity.

The problem, therefore, which confronts us at the outset of Jesus' ministry — what we have called his Ash Wednesday undertaking of repentance-baptism followed by temptation — we may be sure is founded on the rock of historic factuality. How, then, shall we understand this twofold fact of baptism and temptation? Why did Jesus come to John the Baptist to submit to baptism at his hands and why did he thence go out into the wilderness to be tempted?

Jesus took these steps when he was "about thirty years of age," according to one of our sources (L).²⁸ This is Luke's way of saying that He was on the threshold of his lifework. For according to Judah ben Tema, a rabbi who lived at the close of the second century of our era, at thirty a man was considered ready "for authority."²⁹ What was in his mind as, facing his career and pondering upon it, he went out to the Jordan to meet with John? Montefiore holds that "what may be the . . . inward, psychological fact at the basis of the stories of the baptism and the temptation it is impossible to say!"³⁰ And yet one must try to say, and in point of fact Montefiore himself holds a very decided opinion on the subject.

JESUS A SINNER OR CONSCIOUS OF LIABILITY TO SIN (?)

Middleton Murry cut the Gordian knot in his *Jesus, Man of Genius*, written in 1926 and before he had experienced a profound spiritual change which marked more recent years, with the answer that Jesus was a sinner as other men:

"For he had come to be baptized by John as a sinner, among a crowd of sinners. He had come as more than a sinner, but as a sinner he had indeed come. Whatever this man was, he was the incarnation of honesty. He would have sought no baptism for the remission of sins, had he not been conscious of sin" (p. 22).

Such skepticism dates back to Celsus, and probably every age has produced those who would hold to such a simple solution of our problem. Few moderns, one imagines, would be prepared to do so.³¹ Those who tend to favor it would no doubt find Professor James MacKinnon's more guarded statement better to their liking:

"Considering what Jesus in his life was, I do not think we can safely go further than the consciousness of the liability to sin, which, indeed, was all the more a reality to one of his moral elevation."³²

MacKinnon further speaks of Jesus' "liability to sin and the constant need of resisting evil," and he chooses to think that in Jesus' case baptism was "a moral tonic, a consecration to the higher life."³³

Now, although both of these statements on first reading shock our moral judgment, a reaction bound to be felt by anyone who thinks of Jesus in terms of *the Lord of life*, on closer inspection they prove to say very little indeed. Murry's judgment is after all but an a priori one and shares the weakness of all a priori reasoning: it amounts merely

to saying that, considering Jesus' utter "honesty," he *would not* have acted in a specified manner. But there is always opportunity for anyone to argue after like fashion that possibly again he *would* have done so, and that he most assuredly *would* have, provided there was reason for such action which he considered valid.

Again, MacKinnon's position merely raises anew the old scholastic debate over the two Latin expressions, *posse non peccare* (to be able not to sin), and *non posse peccare* (to be unable to sin).³⁴ To assert the first is to lay stress on the *humanity* of Jesus, to acknowledge that he *could* have sinned while holding that he *did not*; similarly, to assert the second is to emphasize the *divinity* of our Lord and to hold that, because of that divinity, there existed no possibility of his falling into sin. MacKinnon appears to prefer the former of the two expressions. This old debate holds elements of interest, and it is possible that in different ways both statements express a truth, the one on the psychological level, the other on the higher theological plane. For it does seem that there are various levels of truth and that often the acceptance of both of two apparently opposing views rather than a choice between them comes nearer to an exact apprehension of the whole truth.

But it is not easy to see the relevancy of this discussion to the problem of Jesus' coming to John's baptism! For one thing is certain about that baptism, namely, that it was a baptism of repentance from *sin*, and not from any hypothetical "liability to sin." Such repentance would assuredly have seemed as unreal and as psychologically indefensible to Jesus and to John as it does to us. Liability to sin needs no repentance, and whoever repents of such possibility discovered within himself exhibits thereby a squeamishness suggestive of the psychopath. And Jesus was no pathological case, whatever else he was. That, at any rate, needs

no demonstration to anyone possessed of ordinary moral judgment.

Moreover, to speak as Professor MacKinnon does of the baptism being received by Jesus as a sort of "moral tonic" is, it seems to us, to underrate the seriousness of John's purpose. John was undoubtedly a typical Old Testament prophet. The Church, whose testimony we read in the canonical Gospels, so portrayed him. He spoke of fire, of winnowing fans and judgment to come, of axes already laid at the root of the tree. His message was by implication a *gospel* only in so far as he referred to the "coming one," who should bring salvation. His major stress, it is generally agreed, was upon repentance and judgment. In form, and generally in content, it was the warning of a prophetic voice, and its message was briefly, *Repent or be damned*. One does not speak of "moral tonics" in such a context! Either John's baptism was an elixir of life and was intended to be taken by those aware of their dire need of its therapeutic value, or it was nothing.

JOSEPHUS' THEORY OF THE NATURE OF JOHN'S BAPTISM

T. H. Robinson attempted to solve the problem of Jesus' approach to John for baptism by reference to Josephus. The latter, in his *Antiquities* (xviii. 5, 2), has a picture of John which scholars generally agree to have come from Josephus' hand. In the course of his description, he writes that for John baptism "served not only for the remission of certain faults, but also to purify the body after the soul had already been purified by righteousness."³⁵ Professor Robinson suggested, then, that Jesus came to baptism as one of those who were, in Josephus' phraseology, "righteous." This would, of course, at once clear up the whole problem for us. If Jesus knew himself to be "purified by righteousness" before coming to John at all, and if his

coming to baptism was simply a way of confirming that fact, as apparently Josephus believed to be generally the case with those who came to John, then, of course, our minds may be at rest about Jesus.

But unfortunately, as MacKinnon observes, this statement of Josephus is quite out of accord with the Gospels' witness regarding John's baptism.³⁶ The Gospel record knows nothing of a "righteousness" acquired previous to their coming by those who came to John for baptism. On the contrary, the Church pictured them as coming to secure a "righteousness," that is, a *salvation*, the *lack* of which they felt acutely, and as coming confessing their sins and desiring to turn from them to the Lord their God.³⁷ Further, Josephus appears to be inconsistent with himself, for he also remarks that the burden of John's preaching was the need of virtuous and pious living. As Goguel observes, such a pure ethic does not go well with a mere ritual type of lustration!³⁸

One may perhaps be permitted to add, too, that Josephus, a Pharisee by his own confession,³⁹ though a member of one of the aristocratic priestly families, seems here to use the word "righteousness" in a far lower sense than it would bear for the prophets and for John.⁴⁰ *Righteousness for the Pharisee was secured through the fulfillment of the Torah in all its minutiae — written and oral — the doing of the works of the Law.* Once one had fulfilled the meticulous requirements of the Pharisaic code, one was accounted *righteous*, or "vindicated," in God's sight, and that was an end of the matter. To such a view John's baptism of native Jews might well appear a work of supererogation and as lacking in ethical significance. George Foot Moore has pointed out that this did not mean that the Pharisees claimed "sinless perfection," as has often erroneously been supposed.⁴¹ One might still fall into sin and

require to repent and could expect by God's grace to be forgiven. It did mean, however, that the Pharisee counted himself in the company of the *righteous*, as over against that of the *sinner*. It was this view that made possible a self-righteous attitude against which our Lord directed his invective in parable and aphorism.⁴²

But with such a view, John, as one standing in the line of Old Testament prophecy, could have nothing in common. The necessary precondition for his baptism was, one may be certain, not an attitude of self-righteousness, but of the deepest humility, of mourning over one's sins, and of thirsting after a righteousness which could be provided, not through the observance, however strict, of an external code, but only out of the limitless grace of God. We have little enough of John's teaching from which to form a judgment regarding his views, but that little appears to suggest that for him baptism stood for, *first, a turning unto God* (repentance), which should result in complete transformation of the ethical character, and, *secondly*, a sort of forensic or objective justification from sins which God would grant. The former of these ideas is furnished us by the Q source: "Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance,"⁴³ the latter, by Mark 1:4, "the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins."

The origin of John's baptism, when adjudged from the *formal* side as ritual, is still in dispute.⁴⁴ But *the source of the two ideas for which it stands* can hardly be thought so. The Church found an adequate description of the Baptist's mission in the quotation from Isa. 40:3 which appears at Mark 1:3:

"The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
Make ye ready the way of the Lord,
Make his paths straight,"

and it is significant that this verse is taken from the opening passage of the Deutero-Isaiah. One of the unique features of this second part of Isaiah is its extension of the term righteousness to cover both "the ethical idea of righteousness, as equivalent to the possession of a moral and religious character," and "the forensic idea (righteousness as a religious standing)," a conception which, as Skinner, whom we have been quoting, adds, "passes over into that of righteousness manifested in external prosperity and glory," that is, salvation in the final and fullest sense of the word.⁴⁵ Wherever, then, John derived the ritual of the baptism which he practiced — whether, as is rather generally held, from the Jewish baptism of proselytes, or elsewhere — he apparently meant that it should stand for the twofold Isaianic righteousness. In other words, John's baptism was intended by him to constitute the *symbol* of the twofold "salvation of God," which was for the individual both an inward and an outward experience of the divine grace.⁴⁶ It was not that the baptism *conferred* this salvation; John pointedly denied as much. It was intended only to *symbolize* it; the righteousness (or, salvation) and the judgment would both be brought by the "coming one"! But those who accepted John's baptism, by so doing committed themselves to allegiance to the new movement when it should arrive. "I baptized you in water; but he shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit."⁴⁷ If, now, the term righteousness had a less rich meaning for the Pharisees than it had for John — as surely was the case, its meaning for them being exhausted by the idea of an *objective vindication following upon observance of an external code* — this can only be because in their artificial view of how the will of God was to be fulfilled by man, they had lost sight of the *spirit* of the Torah through a slavish endeavor to observe its *letter*.⁴⁸

It is possible to show by means of comparative tables the essential differences between the Pharisees on the one hand and the prophets (including John) on the other, in this matter of a definition of the righteousness or salvation process, as follows (the numbers indicate the ordering of events) :

<i>Pharisees</i>	<i>Prophets (with John)</i>
1. Fulfillment of the Torah.	
2. Vindication (declaration of the <i>righteousness</i>) by God.	
3. Unwitting transgressions.	1. Transgression of the will of God.
4. Repentance.	2. Repentance (the "turning unto God" of the prophetic voice).
5. Divine forgiveness.	3. Divine forgiveness and vindication by God.
	4. Transformation of ethical character.

Moreover, that Jesus' view of righteousness ran along prophetic lines (that of Deutero-Isaiah and the Baptist), rather than along Pharisaic ones, there can be no question. It is a matter of some doubt, indeed, whether any one of the passages in which he is said to have used this noun is authentic. All of them are derived from Matthew's special source (M).⁴⁹ But there need be no doubt that Jesus' conception of righteousness, like that of the prophets, involved a saving quality in God that reached out and vindicated his people, as well as the working out of that salvation in the form of a transformation of man's ethical character till it conformed to that of God. *Whether or not he actually*

used the term itself, therefore, is of no consequence. It may well be that M placed on his lips the proper term to define a genuine conception which he held, but which Jesus himself expressed otherwise!

The following passages are representative, and put together in logical fashion they would result in a nicely worked out doctrine of "righteousness," or salvation. The *standard of the righteousness* appears in several passages; take this from Q: "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect."⁵⁰ As the process begins to work, there is awakened in a man *a sense of spiritual bankruptcy*: "Blessed are the poor in spirit" (Q); a *mourning* for his condition: "Blessed are they that mourn" (Q); a *hungering* for a righteousness he does not have: "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness" (M or Q?).⁵¹ This attitude is well summarized in the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee (L), in the publican's prayer, "God, be thou merciful to me a sinner."⁵² Here Jesus is said to have made the significant comment, "This man went down to his house justified rather than the other," where the verb means "to be considered righteous (in God's sight)" or "to be vindicated," one of the Deutero-Isaianic conceptions. The parable of the Prodigal Son (L) too gives vivid expression to this whole series of ideas: the miserable beginning in spiritual poverty, the awakening, the mourning for one's lost condition, the decision to return to the father, the happy culmination and vindication of the sinner.⁵³ Finally, the working out of the righteousness *along lines of social ethics* is attested in the story of Zacchaeus (L), who declares his intention of giving half of his goods to feed the poor and of making restitution wherever he has defrauded. Jesus here specifically declares that "salvation" has evidently "come to this house."⁵⁴ The bulk of the Sermon on the Mount, in both those por-

tions that are assigned to Q and to M, furnishes a series of illustrations along similar lines. To these may be added the "second stanza" of the Beatitudes (Matt. 5:7-10), generally conceded to M. Here the picture of the fruitage of the Messianic salvation is derived from Ps. 85:10. Its significance lies in the fact that it is stated *in terms of a transformation of ethical character* which fits into the general picture at which we have been looking.

It is the way in which the Gospel sources combine and interlock, supplementing and confirming one another, that is convincing here. To suppose, then, that this Jesus of the Church's tradition would ally himself with a group to which Josephus, the Pharisee, would have been willing to attach the adjective "righteous" and so come to John for baptism is as unthinkable as it is assuredly unhistorical. If Jesus was no psychopath, he was equally no Pharisee! And so the explanation of Jesus' approach to the Baptist on the banks of the Jordan to be baptized by him demands deeper probing than we have thus far given it.

THE CHURCH'S SOLUTION — JESUS, THE SUFFERING SERVANT, MESSIAH

If it is not demonstrable that Jesus was either sinner, psychopath, or Pharisee, then the problem of his accepting repentance-baptism forces itself upon us with renewed urgency. The Church had an answer that was at once simple and straightforward. It is found in essence at Mark 1:9-11:

"And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in the Jordan. And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens rent asunder, and the Spirit as a dove descending upon him: and a voice came out of the heavens, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased."

Here it will be observed: (a) that Jesus comes quietly and unassumingly among the crowd of penitents *in response to the prophetic voice*; the suggestion appears even to underlie the narrative that he had made his decision upon the hills about his own Galilean home and that he came down to the Jordan with mind made up and unswerving resolution; (b) that this act of obedience to the "voice" *is rewarded by another — this time a heavenly "voice" — confirming his action*. It is along these two lines that the Church understood Jesus' motive on this occasion, and they will bear further elucidation.

Jesus' Response to the Prophetic "Voice"

In this early Marcan strand of the Church's tradition, Jesus' coming to repentance-baptism evinces no surprise. It is stated simply as a fact without explanation or comment. There need be no doubt that this is because of the Hebrew lying behind the Greek of the Gospel's prophetic imperative, "Repent ye."⁵⁵ This imperative placed by the Church on the Baptist's lips is the old prophetic cry variously translated in our versions by "turn ye," "return," and "repent." In every case *without exception* this is שׁוּב — (*shūb*), in the Hebrew. (All the passages are collected in Appendix A.)

The significance of this phenomenon has generally escaped the attention of New Testament scholars for a very obvious reason. Two Hebrew verbs are frequently rendered *to repent* in our English versions, namely, שׁוּב (*shūb*), already mentioned, and נָחַם (*nāḥam*). The former of these is regularly translated in the Greek of the Septuagint by ἐπιστρέφειν (*epistrefein*), or alternatively by ἀποστρέφειν (*apostrefein*); while the latter becomes in the same Greek version μετανοεῖν (*metanoein*). The conclusion, therefore, lies readily to hand, that wherever *metanoein* appears

in the New Testament Greek, it represents, not *shūb*, but *nāham* of the Hebrew!

Whether this conclusion is correct or not is a matter of the greatest importance, for the two Hebrew verbs by no means denote the same things. *Shūb* is a relatively colorless word, denoting merely to turn back or to return. It says nothing of the nature of that from which or to which the turning is made. Normally it is used with no ethical significance whatever. When it is used in the ethical sense, it requires the addition of other words to indicate the objects with reference to which a moral choice is to be made. It is otherwise with *nāham*. This verb, as George Foot Moore has shown, "properly means 'be sorry' for something, or for having done something. . . . Such regret frequently involves a change of mind regarding the future as well as the past, and this, rather than the feeling by which it is prompted, is often the principal import of the word. . . . But however the notion of a change of purpose may predominate in many uses of the verb, the primary sense, 'be sorry,' is always present." ⁵⁶

If, then, the *metanoia* of Mark 1:4 and the *metanoiein* of Matt. 3:2 (M) represent *nāham*, as Jerome in preparing the Latin Vulgate apparently thought to be the case (he translated them respectively by *paenitentia* and *paenitentiam agite*) a good case is made out for *repentance* standing primarily for an emotional attitude of sorrow for one's misdeeds! But what is yet more serious—Jesus must have come to John's baptism, as Middleton Murry has said, carrying the sorrowful burden of his own sins, or such would be, at least, the a priori inference, as we have already seen.

But this entire interpretation is shattered by the discovery that in no single instance does the prophetic imperative, translated in our English versions by "repent ye,"

"return," or "turn ye," use the Hebrew verb *nāḥam*. On the contrary, it always uses *shūb*. Obviously, therefore, the prophetic emphasis is, not upon one's emotional attitude toward one's sins, but upon the necessity of making a moral choice between the two objects represented to God's people with a view to their making a decision between them.

When, therefore, the Baptist, following in the line of the older prophets, came upon the scene, he would naturally use the Hebrew and Aramaic *shūb*. The Greek Gospels, similarly, might have adopted "the literal equivalent" *epistrefein*, but, since, as Moore has suggested, "the change of mind and purpose are in the foreground of the thought, *metanoeō*" would suggest itself as being the more proper translation of *shūb* in spite of the preference of the Septuagint for the former word.⁵⁶ It is instructive to notice that once the Gospel writers found the better Greek term *metanoein* with which to translate the Hebrew prophetic imperative in such a context, they nearly dropped the other two terms altogether! Thus, *epistrefein* is found in the ethical sense in only three passages in the Gospels (Mark 4:12//Matt. 13:15; [L^{src}] Luke 1:16, 17; [Q] Luke 17:4), and of these, the first two occur in quotations from the Old Testament, while the third refers to human relationships, and not to man's relation to God: *apostrefein* never has the ethical meaning in the Gospel tradition! Contrariwise, having discovered *metanoein*, the Gospel writers employ it nine times in the ethical sense in our first three Gospels.⁵⁷

It was this richer meaning involved in *metanoein*, a call to make a moral decision between two alternative courses set before one, which came to the front in the preaching of John. It was not for nothing that he was said by Jesus to symbolize the reincarnate Elijah, the man who on Mount

Carmel had represented to Israel two moral alternatives and bade them choose between them.⁵⁸ It was this same spirit that flamed in the Baptist, and men once more were called to decide for or against the true God of Israel. It was this call to decision which the prophets expressed by *shūb*, a word which in itself carried no implication of sin but which was adapted admirably to place two alternatives before the hearer.

Undeniably, of course, there was sin in every situation with which the prophets had to deal, and equally there was sin in the situation with which the Baptist was dealing. And *shūb*, as well as *metanoeō*, involved the thought of turning one's back on the sin and returning to God and his sovereignty over one's life.⁵⁹ In so far, accordingly, as Jesus' life was one with that of his people, arose out of that sinful situation, and was identified with it, he too had to share in this *shūb* to which John called all Israel. The further question, however, of how far any particular individual had allowed himself to succumb to that situation by becoming a sinner, is not answered by either *shūb* or *metanoein*. Doubtless, the degree would differ with the individual. In Jesus' case, so far as any evidence goes, the degree was nil.

Nonetheless, Jesus like other Israelites had to make his choice. Here was a new movement inaugurated by the prophetic voice of the old Israel. It involved the acceptance of what Bultmann has well termed an "eschatological sacrament," for in some sense it looked to the coming of the "great day of the Lord."⁶⁰ On the hills of Galilee Jesus made his decision and he came down to Jordan's banks to be baptized by John. Duty, the prophetic *righteousness* in one of its aspects, lay that way with him, and he did not falter.

There is a *logion* in Matthew's special source which gives expression to this idea. It reads:

"But John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? But Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him." ^{61, 62}

This *logion* has long constituted a famous crux among critical scholars. It has been said that it represents the Church's attempt to safeguard the sinlessness of Jesus, when the record of his coming to John's baptism created criticism among the Church's pagan opponents or among the Jews who had not been won for the cause. The need for such an apologetic had not yet arisen by the time Mark's Gospel was written, as we have already seen. Moreover, the passage is said to involve "a particular view of the death of Jesus, of its significance and sacrificial efficacy," ⁶³ as well as the knowledge on the part of both Jesus and the Baptist of the former's Messiahship.⁶⁴

To this formidable array of objections, Oscar Holtzmann added, that the expression "to fulfil all righteousness" must mean, "to satisfy every requirement of piety." Moreover, in Holtzmann's opinion, this must mean the peculiar Pharisaic brand of "piety"; though our Lord could never have committed himself to this, for "on other occasions, indeed, Jesus takes up a different attitude." ⁶⁵

All this appears to the present writer to be an excellent example of setting up a straw man to knock him down! It is *eisegesis* with a vengeance, with a view to *exegeting*, or rather expurgating, a passage quite away. Admittedly, this passage may mean all this. But need it? As for John all that it need mean is that, being a man of moral insight, he saw in Jesus one purer than himself and declined, accordingly, to baptize such a one. It would not require much knowledge of the latter for a man of discernment to

be able to say what John said on this occasion. Presumably John would question Jesus somewhat before offering him baptism. Probably no one would have doubted the Baptist's knowing enough for the purpose in hand but for the statement recorded by John in his Gospel (John 1:33), "And I knew him not." This passage (granted it be authentic), as the context indicates, does not refer to ordinary acquaintanceship, but to the perception of Jesus' Messiahship on the Baptist's part! ⁶⁶

As for Jesus' part in the *logion*, that is most readily defined from another to be found in the same source, "Seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness" (Matt. 6:33). Here "righteousness" has one of the prophetic senses which we have previously examined, namely, the sum total of the demands of God's sovereignty for one's life. When Jesus is said, then, to have remarked, "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness," that will mean: I must take this step because it accords with the will of God for my life and ministry. To get any more out of the saying, one must first read into it what it was probably never intended to mean. And the critical method which would do that, with the deliberate intention of afterward doing away with the passage entirely, needs to re-examine its own motivation.

It is good to see that Professors F. C. Grant and T. W. Manson both accord with this interpretation of the passage from *Special Matthew*. Grant's words are, "And yet the words may express what was really in Jesus' mind: whatever God has shown to be his will, including the baptism of John, which was 'from heaven, not from men,' must be mandatory upon the conscience of every Israelite." Manson writes to much the same purport and then proceeds, "The question is not whether Jesus has or has not sins to confess, but whether he is to obey the call of God which

comes through the last and greatest of the prophets." ⁶⁷ This statement of Manson may be allowed to stand as a fitting close to this section: Jesus' coming to repentance-baptism, said the Church, was *his response* to the divine "call" through the prophet to throw in his lot with the new movement, his *moral decision* to take his stand for the God of Israel.

The Heavenly "Voice" — Confirmation of Jesus' Action

It only remains, then, to discover what was the place of Jesus in the movement inaugurated by John. This brings us to the Baptism itself and more particularly to inquire the meaning of the heavenly "voice" heard by our Lord.

Two problems arise in this connection — as to the *nature* of the voice and as to its *content*. The first need not detain us long. But the manner of stating the problem that relates to the voice's *nature* is of some importance. The question is sometimes asked in this form: Was the voice from heaven *objective* or *subjective* relative to Jesus' consciousness? The distinction had in view is that an *objective* voice would necessarily be of a character to start sound waves which would strike upon the eardrums of all within ordinary range and give rise successively to a sensation, a perception, and an idea. A *subjective* voice, the argument runs, would contrariwise be the product of the subject's own intellectual processes and would not depend upon any sort of external sensation.

It needs to be said at once that such a distinction is in accord with neither experience nor revelation. The transmission of thought between persons is a subtle process by no means fully understood by the best psychology of our day. It may or may not be helped by the medium of words. A look, a nod, a smile is enough to effect a genuine communication at times; and, quite apart from the more star-

tling phenomena of mental telepathy, it is a matter of everyday experience on the part of the teacher and preacher, as well as of many others besides, that the inner meanings of ideas are hidden from all but those intellectually, morally, or spiritually atune to receive them.

Karl Barth's famous statement that at times the divine Word is heard "in spite" of the words of the preacher, can be true also on the lower plane of ordinary conceptual thought and its transmission. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." The difficulty lies in the lack of "ears to hear"! The hearing takes care of itself once the ears are acquired.

So it is within the sphere of the Biblical revelation. A study of the *voices from heaven* reported to have been heard within the pages of Scripture reveals the startling fact that they are heard only by those equipped to *hear* them! Balaam, Moses, Elijah, the three on the Mount of Transfiguration, Paul on the Damascus Road—all these could *hear* what the commonality of men had not the means of apprehending. Others said, "It thundered" (John 12:29), or heard only the sound of a voice (Acts 9:7), or else were utterly unconscious of any voice whatever, as in the Marcan account of the "voice" at the baptism of Jesus.

To suggest, therefore, as has been done from the time of Origen, that the "voice" at Jesus' baptism was a phenomenon of a psychological character, as a majority of scholars at the present day probably hold, is not to say that it was "subjective" in the sense indicated above.⁶⁸ The evidence appears to prove that Jesus alone heard this voice, but this is by no means incompatible with its being thoroughly "objective." The Church's testimony, we understand, is that it was the Father's voice speaking to his unique Son.

And note the startling corollary which arises from this

reasoning. In proportion as one holds that the "voice" at the Baptism was an experience of a psychological nature, by so much it follows that *Jesus heard the "voice" because he was morally and spiritually ready for it* — shall we add, *intellectually prepared* as well? He cannot have been entirely surprised at what it had to say to him. He must in fact have known already in the depths of his soul, though perhaps he had never clothed the thought in words, just what it would say!

Modern scholars have been saying something like this for many years. Johannes Weiss, writing of what he terms the "calls" of Jesus and John the Baptist, said: "The unyielding firmness of the Baptist, the unconquerable assurance of Jesus — both force us to the conclusion that overpowering religious experiences must have taken place in them. Only so can we account for the inconceivable daring with which they announced the impending destruction of Israel and the end of the world."⁶⁹ Even Montefiore thinks it the "more probable" view "that Jesus . . . may have felt at the baptism some call to be a Teacher and a Prophet," though he holds that not till later in the ministry did he "believe himself to be the Messiah or Son of Man."⁷⁰

But we must not stop here. The "voice" was not only a formal indication of a spiritual affinity existing between himself and God as his Father, and resulting in a "call." It was also, or at any rate the Church claimed it to be also, a *specific* call. *That is to say, it had content as well as form.* What is that content?

It is possible to say that here too there is a large measure of agreement among New Testament scholars of all schools of thought *up to a point*. These differ as to whether the content of the voice reflects the mind of our Lord and thus represents a real experience on his part, or whether it re-

flects the thought of the later Church read back into that experience. Of this difference of opinion we shall have much to say in later chapters of this book. But in the matter of the *general meaning* of the voice, that is, of its *content* as set down in the Gospel tradition, there is considerable agreement.⁷¹

The point of agreement consists in the view that the two parts of the message which the voice delivered to Jesus are in fact quotations of two Old Testament passages, namely, Ps. 2:7 and Isa. 42:1. The first of these passages is messianic in the broad sense of that term. That is to say, the entire seventh verse of the psalm constitutes the *coronation formula* of the messianic king who sits on Israel's throne. Israel's Lord is conceived to be pronouncing the formula, as its king (the Messiah symbolically represented by the ruling scion of David's line) ascends his throne on the occasion of his coronation: "Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee." The formula lends itself, therefore, to be used in the greater coronation scene of the true Messiah on the banks of Jordan, as he starts upon his career.

It is noteworthy, however, that the "voice" uses *only the first portion* of the formula quoted, "Thou art my son," omitting the latter part, "This day have I begotten thee." The so-called Western text in Luke's Gospel only, indeed, does quote the entire formula as it stands in the psalm, and Lietzmann, among other scholars, accepts this as the correct reading for Luke.⁷² But whether true for Luke or not, the voice cannot have quoted the whole formula. For Luke's source (Q) conflicts here with our other major source (Mrk); and if it be conceded that the Neutral (Alexandrian) text of Luke here is the original, then the Western text of Luke conflicts with both major sources (Q and Mrk). Either way, it is more likely that the author of Luke's Gospel, or the source he was using for the

moment, or an early copyist, inadvertently quoted the entire formula as it stands in Ps. 2:7, overlooking the fact that the formula was quoted only in part, than that the author of Mark or his source should have made the mistake of breaking off the quotation from Ps. 2:7 and have inserted, for the balance of the verse, half a verse from Isa. 42:1!

What the voice does is to quote only the words, "Thou art my son," and then turning to the Deutero-Isaianic passage it goes on, "The [or, My] Beloved, in whom I am well pleased." Armitage Robinson has shown by an ingenious argument that this represents an independent translation of the Hebrew of Isa. 42:1.⁷³ The significance of the quotation consists in the fact that this passage in Isaiah represents the *ordination formula* of the Suffering Servant of the Lord. By combining the two passages, accordingly, the voice succeeds in at once anointing the unique Son as the Messiah and ordaining him as the Suffering Servant! Or, to express the same thought in slightly different terms, it not alone confirms to Jesus' consciousness the fact of his Messiahship, but it serves at the same time to define the nature of that Messiahship as one issuing in suffering, trial, death — the cross. The gift of the Spirit too is not without significance; for in the passage from Isaiah the Suffering Servant is anointed with the Spirit, and that anointing constitutes an important part of the preparation for his mission.

If this interpretation be correct, it becomes obvious that the Cerinthian Gnostics entirely misrepresented the significance of the "voice" and Spirit at Jesus' baptism. He did not suffer a change in the essential nature of his person as a result of this experience, as Cerinthus held. But it also follows that they are wrong who think of the voice as conveying information to Jesus of an office regarding which he had no previous knowledge whatever. If this be a com-

bined coronation-ordination formula, as the Church held, then no new information was imparted to Jesus. The king's son does not require to be told who he is! The formula was merely the *confirmation* to the Suffering Servant, Messiah of previously acquired knowledge, and that confirmation came at the proper moment, namely, when he was about to undertake his great work.

It is clear also that, on this interpretation, the Temptation which followed the Baptism was but the second phase of one event, of which the Baptism was the first. A lordly Messiah, about to enter upon the glorious inheritance that was his by right, would experience no temptation as he faced these new and rich experiences. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that his temptations would bear no remote resemblance to the sort Jesus was called upon to suffer. But one can understand that a lonely Figure, who knew himself to be the Messiah by right of who he was, and yet was forced by the cruel circumstance of his lowly lot to achieve his inheritance by the bitter road that led straight up to the cross, such a One would, indeed, be faced with the temptations Jesus experienced — to disobedience, to distrust, to disloyalty.⁷⁴

Why, then, did our Lord come into his ministry by way of the Ash Wednesday experience of fasting and mourning, of repentance-baptism and temptation? The Church replied, Because from the beginning he knew himself to be the Messiah — not a glorious Messiah seated on a throne of power, but the Suffering Servant, Messiah — and that to fulfill the will of God for his life and ministry demanded that he walk the path of humiliation, of suffering and death. He entered, accordingly, by the narrow door of the first Ash Wednesday and as he looked within, there fell across the way ahead the shadow of his cross. Such was the Church's testimony. *Was the Church right?*

The Wide Outlook—Prophetic Revelation

“And then, said they, we will, if the day be clear, shew you the Delectable Mountains, which, they said, would yet further add to his comfort, because they were nearer the desired haven than the place where at present he was.”

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

SYNOPSIS

WAS the Church right in representing Jesus as the Suffering Servant, Messiah of the prophets? Does this view represent the "mind of Christ" himself?

One way to approach this problem with some hope of finding a solution to it is by an examination of the possibilities involved in the case. These consist of the elements that went to make up the cultural ethos in which Jesus found himself. These elements, it is agreed, were: (1) the Ritualists, who sought to Hellenize the entire Jewish community; (2) the Apocalyptists, visionaries who looked for "signs" of Messiah's advent and of the final judgment; (3) the Legalists, leaders of the masses in expecting a Davidic king to rule in Jerusalem and free his people from the Roman yoke; (4) the Prophetic Heritage, which declared the Messiah to pertain only to the "Remnant" from every nation and race. Each of these cultural types is examined with a view to discovering whether it gives promise of being Jesus' true cultural background, the matrix, so to speak, of his ethical and spiritual life.

It is concluded that it is the prophetic voice, speaking through John the Baptist, which furnishes the key to the cultural affiliation of Jesus. At least we see in this relationship, acknowledged to have been genuine by modern scholarship, the Church's testimony to Jesus' culture. By responding to the "call" issued by that voice, our Lord took the decisive step of allying himself with the prophetic heritage of the Hebrew tradition. The thesis of this book is that the Church was right: the Jesus of the tradition — the "prophetic" Jesus — is the real Jesus.

II

THE testimony of the Church in its Gospels was that our Lord entered upon his ministry by a very narrow door indeed. As the door of fasting and of "turning" unto God swung open, it set the Central Figure of the New Testament drama, not in "a large place," but, quite the contrary, upon a way across which there fell the shadow of a cross. For from the first he recognized himself as the Messiah, to be sure, but as the Suffering Servant of the Lord as well. Such is the testimony of our Gospel records and such is the witness of the Church from the earliest days.

But was the Church right? And do our Scriptures, the Church's Scriptures, faithfully represent the "mind of Christ"? In setting our Lord's ministry against the background of the prophetic thought as exemplified in Joel's judgment imagery, have the Gospel writers been entirely fair to him? Did Jesus take over from the last of the prophets, John, the whole content of his thought? Was there, at any rate, an unbroken line of continuity from

the thought of the one to that of the other? Must we not after all strive to get "back to Jesus" — back of the Gospel records and their sources, back of the Church, back of the Baptist, to the *real* Jesus? Is it possible that there is a Jesus whom the Church has covered with a hoary mass of traditions and, having covered, forgotten?

The answers to these questions are legion. There are, indeed, almost as many answers as there have been original minds working upon the complex data involved. It is possible, however, to simplify the problem by placing it within the compass of its obvious limits. These are the component cultural elements which went to make up the Judaism of our Lord's day. It may be assumed that somewhere within that framework our Lord found himself entirely at home. Accordingly, to list and examine the viewpoints of the various groups within the Jewish cultural situation of his day is to acquaint ourselves with the major solutions of our problem suggested by modern scholarship.

Only one exception to this simplification of a very complex subject might, in the nature of the case, be legitimately urged. This would be the suggestion that Jesus was *entirely original* in his thought and teaching and work, that he stood quite outside the bounds of the Judaism of his own and every other day, that there was an utter discontinuity between himself and all that came before him. This possibility we shall have to bear in mind from first to last. But it needs to be pointed out that, if this position should be found correct, then it would follow that there was also a discontinuity between Jesus and the Church, as well as between him and pre-Christian Judaism! For, as we have already seen, the Church in its authoritative Gospel tradition is unmindful of any such discontinuity as is here suggested; it has placed him well within the molds of Jewish thought and life. And in doing so it has acknowledged its

own indebtedness to and continuity with that set of molds! Accordingly, if the issue is to be stated as Jesus versus Judaism, then it must be extended to read: Jesus versus Judaism and the Church.

What, then, are the possibilities? What were the cultural elements composing the Jewish framework Jesus knew? ¹

THE RITUALISTS

In the first place there were the *ritualists*, represented within the Judaism contemporary with Jesus by the Sadducees. Whatever the name may have meant ² — and on this subject controversy rages to the present day — this group had its origin during the Maccabean uprising. Josephus speaks of them as a distinct “party” as early as the days of Jonathan (160–142 B.C.), brother of Judas Maccabaeus, ³ though this early existence of the party *as such* is disputed by some scholars. ⁴ They constituted a sort of “*Fifth Column*” within Judaism, through whose machinations the Hellenistic influences of the Seleucids and later of the Romans were permitted to infiltrate into Jewish culture. ⁵ They were composed largely, if not exclusively, of members of the high-priestly families, and through their influence in the Sanhedrin, of which one of their number — the high priest — was president, they succeeded in dominating the political situation in the Judaism of our Lord’s day. ⁶

No one, of course, seriously proposes that Jesus’ cultural background was that of a Sadducee. Josephus is our authority for the fact that the Sadducees were “able to persuade none but the rich” and that the multitude were by no means “obsequious to them.” ⁷ Only in Matt. 16:1–12 (M) do our Gospels ever represent them as being outside the confines of Jerusalem. Hence, Headlam is probably

right in inferring that "their influence and importance" were limited to that city and in it largely to the Temple area.⁸

History has pictured them as a worldly lot, profiting both by their control of the Temple worship and their political relations with the foreign power, "wild" and "barbarous" in their treatment of others, with an unwholesome tendency toward the acceptance of the Hellenic culture with its pagan formalism and vices. The picture of their attitude at the trials of both Jesus and Paul fits into the general picture drawn by Josephus of the high-priestly families from whom they were largely, if not exclusively, drawn.^{9, 10} Jesus recoiled with all the revulsion of an infinitely pure spirit from this grisly scene, as we shall have occasion later to note. "The leaven of the Sadducees," against which he warned his disciples, was without doubt this same "worldliness and materialism."¹¹

History and psychology, however, conspire together to show that individuals and peoples alike willy-nilly absorb cultural elements against which their true natures openly revolt. Doubtless this takes place in the realm of the subconscious, but that it occurs we can no longer deny. Accordingly, we have to reckon with the possibility that Jesus along with his contemporaries, unwittingly to be sure and certainly unwillingly, had absorbed somewhat of the ideology of the Hellenistic culture of which the Sadducee, as contemporary *ritualist*, was the outspoken exponent in his day.

The so-called school of Comparative Religions, with its successor the "political school" in Nazi Germany, seized upon this possibility and attempted to reconstruct the Jesus of the Gospels as an illustration of pagan (or, Aryan) mythology. The slanderous attack upon the manner of his birth, made first in the Talmud of the third to the fifth

centuries, together with the fact that the land of his youth was "Galilee of the Gentiles,"¹² has been made the foundation for the Hellenization of his life and work.¹³ This is not the place for a complete statement of the evidence pro and con which has been marshaled in the course of this controversy. Professor W. F. Albright, of Johns Hopkins University, who has made a lifelong study of the materials available for forming a judgment in this field, has conceded all that can reasonably be demanded by exponents of this theory. "These superficial resemblances" found to exist between the data relating to our Lord's life, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the mythology of pre-Christian paganism (Albright's term for this latter is, "more ancient Near-Eastern religious ideas") may have found entrance into our Gospels, he thinks, "through the channel of Jewish eschatological literature."¹⁴ Since most of this literature has perished, however, Albright holds that this explanation, like all others, must remain "theoretical."

Even Albright's concession, however, is by no means intended to include what one might term the *core* of Jesus' teaching and activity as recorded in the canonical Gospels. That core remains untouched by all attempts at Hellenization, and is indisputably Hebraic in cultural tone. Dalman has done most perhaps to establish, on the basis of the language(s) used by our Lord, the essentially Hebraic nature of his culture.¹⁵ But notable contributions have been made by C. H. Turner, C. F. Burney, C. C. Torrey, J. H. Moulton, T. W. Manson, George Foot Moore, and numerous others.

To begin with, J. H. Moulton is surely right in holding: "That Jesus himself and the Apostles regularly used Aramaic is beyond question";¹⁶ and T. W. Manson in adding: "It is possible that Jesus had some acquaintance with

Greek; but there is no good reason to suppose that any part of his teaching was delivered in that language.”¹⁷ The proof of these statements lies in the facts that: (a) a certain number of Jesus’ own Aramaic expressions are interspersed in the Greek of the Gospels;¹⁸ (b) Aramaic was the language even of Jerusalem on the testimony of Luke;¹⁹ (c) Josephus, a native of Jerusalem, says he first wrote his *Wars of the Jews* in Aramaic and afterward translated it into Greek, and found the writing of his later book, the *Antiquities*, in Greek at first hand an arduous task;²⁰ (d) the Targums of even a later date (second century A.D. and afterward) were written in Aramaic.²¹

Add to these facts Goguel’s observation that “Jesus did not frequent” the larger towns of Galilee (there is, in point of fact, what appears to be a studied exclusion of any mention of them from the Gospel narrative), and that Aramaic was certainly “the usual language” of the smaller towns and villages which he did visit.²² One knows enough of the general situation in such bilingual areas as are to be found even today in a country like India to appreciate the significance of Goguel’s remark. One can travel all over North India, for example, and use his English (or at most, Hindustani), so long as he remains in the cities. But if he goes out into the villages it is a quite different story; there only the local vernacular is spoken and understood — Punjabi, Gujrati, Bengali, Hindi, as the case may be.

Goguel in our judgment is overdrastic in deducing from these data that “it is very doubtful whether he (i.e., Jesus) ever knew Greek.” But the *direction* of his conclusion is surely sound, and a corollary he derives from it is one of vast importance for our study here. “If Jesus did not know Greek,” he writes (one would prefer him to have said, “If Jesus did not possess a student’s knowledge of Greek”), “the hypothesis of the influence of Hellenic

culture upon him can only be admitted to this extent: the Palestinian Judaism of his day was partially Hellenized, and its influence, though felt, would not be strong." ²³ This, it will be observed, accords admirably with the conclusion of Professor Albright, though the approach to the problem was made along linguistic rather than ideological lines. The two methods of argument thus appear to converge on a single result.

But, what is even more important than our Lord's habitual use of Aramaic in speaking and teaching for an apprehension of the general Hebraic cast of his cultural life, it appears to be beyond reasonable doubt that he also knew Hebrew. Certainly this is true of the Hebrew of the Old Testament Scriptures, and T. W. Manson has recently adduced some proof of his knowledge of Rabbinic Hebrew as well. When he arose in the synagogue at Nazareth at the request of the *Rosh ha keneset*, or "ruler," ²⁴ and received from the "minister" (*hazzān*) the roll containing the Prophet Isaiah, he undoubtedly held in his hand a Hebrew manuscript! ²⁵ As he read from it, he either translated the original Hebrew into Aramaic, or, as the later custom was, ²⁶ an interpreter stood at his side and translated for the benefit of the unlearned present. Our Lord had acquired this knowledge in the *Bet ha-Sefer*, or primary school, attached to every synagogue, which as its name implies took as its textbook the Old Testament Scriptures in the original tongue. Moore has shown that it was probably R. Simeon ben Shatah, whose date is somewhere in "the first decade of the first century B.C.," who first commanded that all Jewish boys should attend this school, thus making a Hebrew education for males compulsory. ²⁷ If this be correct, then Jesus went with the other boys of Nazareth as a matter of course to the Hebrew school attached to the local synagogue.

That he also spoke the Rabbinic Hebrew of the scribes, Manson has shown to be likely from a coincidence of passages. For example, he was called "Rabbi" by *his foes*, as well as by his friends, a respectful appellation due to those learned after the scribal fashion.²⁸ Furthermore, in Mark 7:11, *korban* is the Rabbinic Hebrew word found in M. Nedarim 1:2 and elsewhere; while in Mark 7:14, after the discussion with the Pharisees in Rabbinic Hebrew, Jesus seems to recall the crowd whose attention had been lost as he spoke in a language they did not know.²⁹ Again, John 7:15: "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" is in reality an acknowledgment on the part of the "Jews," i.e., the religious authorities — scribes or doctors of the Law, trained rabbis — that Jesus possessed Hebraic learning equivalent to that of the rabbis. They taunt him with holding no diploma from the rabbinical college, but they are forced to admit that he is nonetheless a "man of letters," as Canon Wade translates.³⁰

All this evidence adds up to the undoubted conclusion that, as we have said above, the *core* of Jesus' culture was Hebraic. The "superficial resemblances" to pagan ideology, to which Professor Albright refers, need not trouble us here, for they have to do with matters within the Gospels which are on the *fringe* of the essential Gospel message. One cannot doubt that what is central to that Gospel is rooted firmly in the soil of the Hebraic culture and tradition.³¹

THE APOCALYPTISTS

But the Hebraic culture was by no means a unity. Rather it was a stalk with numerous branches and had been such long before Jesus' day. To which of these branches of the central Hebraic tradition did Jesus adhere? There was, *first*, the branch labeled *Apocalypticism*, an un-

couth word suggestive to the modern mind of the visionary and the bizarre. And there is some ground for the modern shrinking from this type of literature. The stock in trade of the apocalyptist was the *vision* with its "conventional figures, scenes and stage properties."³² His work was generally pseudonymous, that is, done in the name of some ancient worthy of such stature as to command respect and interest on the reader's part.

The apocalyptist had a theistic philosophy of history that was probably the most commendable feature of his entire work. He developed this through a series of epochs beginning with the lifetime of the *purported* author, and extending up to a period of supposed crisis in world affairs, which was coterminous with the time of the *actual* author. The emphasis tended "more and more to become extramundane," as the need was felt of a supratemporal order where the wrongs of the present world could be righted and the genuine Rule of God be experienced by all his creatures.³³ "There is no recognizable sectarian peculiarity in the apocalypses,"³⁴ and they appear to have enjoyed a popular vogue in the early days of the Christian Era. Oesterley thinks they emanated originally from the *Hasidim*, or devout group among the common people of Jewry, and that "they held therefore orthodox views."³⁵ But their "transcendental Messianism," generally mystical tendencies, universalism, and probable admixture of some pagan ideas made them obnoxious to the Pharisees and their teachers, the rabbis.³⁶

Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer, with their followers in the school of Consistent Eschatology, have sought among the apocalyptists for the spiritual home of Jesus. It was here, amidst such ideas as that of a supramundane "Son of Man," the sudden ending of the present world order, and the immediate coming of the Messianic Reign

or Kingdom of God, they hold, that Jesus lived and moved and had his intellectual and spiritual being. Indeed, certain phenomena in the Gospels, more particularly from among his own teachings, have led "millenarians" of every school to claim for Jesus a place among the apocalypticists. And even so careful a scholar as Professor Albright allows himself to write, "Jesus was the spiritual heir of a long line of Jewish eschatologists."⁵⁷

One is aware of treading on sacred ground here. For millenarianism early entered into the Christian Church and has taken firm hold of certain types of minds from the end of the first century A.D. forward.⁵⁸ One can only speak for oneself, however, and the present writer is rather thoroughly convinced that *apocalypticism, rightly defined, and Jesus have nothing in common*. To state the matter *positively*, Jesus' teaching may be characterized as *prophetic, eschatological, evangelical*, and therefore as *ethicospiritual* in the highest degree; *negatively*, it is to be thought of as *antiapocalyptic*, even as it was also *anti-Pharisaic* and *anti-Sadducaic* and anti-everything else which savored of materialism, literalism, and attitudes which were subspiritual toward God and subethical toward man. In the course of the succeeding chapters what these terms denote will become progressively clearer.

To begin with, the words "eschatology" and "apocalypse," as well as their derivatives, need to be distinguished carefully. For much confusion has arisen through their equation. *Eschatology* is a theological term invented to embrace a particular group of facts — those, namely, associated with the "last things," the end of the world, the final judgment, the coming of the Messiah, the consummation of the Kingdom of God. The word *apocalypse*, on the contrary, is one which has reference alike to a *method of revelation* of divine truth, and to "the literary form"

assumed by that revelation when written down by the seer. C. C. Torrey has expressed this difference between the two terms with great exactness and pronounces their confusion as "especially misleading and mischievous." His definition of the "apocalypse" is peculiarly pertinent to our discussion: it is, he says, "a direct revelation of divine truth hitherto unknown, or of future events or conditions not capable of merely human prediction, disclosed by God to some one of his favored servants. This unveiling of secrets is given in the form of a vision or a dream; it could not be given in any other way."³⁹ It will be seen from these definitions that *eschatology* is the wider term, *apocalypse* the narrower. All discussions regarding the "last things" are by definition eschatological; but they are not by any means necessarily apocalyptic. Their being the latter will depend upon the nature of their source, on the one hand, and of the form of their presentation, on the other.

Now, if the relevant passages in the Gospels are read over with these definitions in mind, several surprising results will be found to emerge. In the first place, it becomes evident that, whereas all these passages are eschatological, no one of them claims to be, nor does it exhibit the characteristics of, an apocalypse. That is to say, *in none of these passages does our Lord claim to have seen a vision and so to have learned therein of coming events, particularly of those of the Messianic age.*⁴⁰ The references can readily be turned up in a concordance. T. W. Manson has given them in convenient and orderly form, indicating in each case the *source* of the passage in question. His list is appended for the convenience of the student.⁴¹ A careful perusal of these passages will convince the reader of the truth of what has just been said.

The clear conclusion to be derived from this datum is that *our Lord makes no claim in any of these teachings to*

be dealing with original materials. He is simply using those already available and well-known, and is either applying them to suit his purpose at the moment, or else — as, for example, in the parable of the Last Judgment — is working them over and issuing them in parabolic fashion after an original literary pattern of his own. In any case, there is nothing in any of these passages suggestive of the vision pattern of the apocalyptic literature. They are not, therefore, and make no claim to be, apocalyptic in the right use of that term.

Further, and to the writer's mind this is an even more important deduction from the standpoint of our Lord's true cultural affiliation, upon careful examination *the source of all these materials proves to be, not the extracanonical apocalyptic literature, but the prophetic literature of the Old Testament Scriptures.* Albright, apropos entirely of another, though related, subject, remarks that "practically every detail of Jewish Messianic expectation may be shown to be derived from the Old Testament, especially from Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah."⁴² The one exception, he goes on to say, is the "Son of Man" motif, which must, of course, be looked for in Dan., ch. 7, and possibly in the Similitudes of Enoch, the one a canonical and the other a noncanonical apocalypse. Albright's remark about Jewish eschatological materials generally is as true of Jesus' teaching as it is of the rest of Jewish literature. And once again, the only exception to this generalization which can be allowed in Jesus' case pertains to the figure of the "Son of Man," and, we would add, to his *evil genius* or opposite, the "Abomination of Desolation," that is, the "Antichrist."⁴³

If the reader will take a copy of the New Testament containing a set of scholarly references on the margin, such as that found in Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Lietz-

mann's *Synopse*, or any other of equal merit, and will examine the parallels to Jesus' teachings in the eschatological sections listed above from Manson's work, he will find that *not one of these references is to any of the extracanonical apocalyptic literature!* On the contrary, all the significant features of these passages find their counterpart in the prophetic writings of the Old Testament.

C. C. Torrey has worked this out in detail for the so-called "Little Apocalypse" of Mark, ch. 13. All the significant details of that passage in Jesus' teaching can be paralleled in Zechariah, Isaiah, Joel, The Psalms, and Daniel. Accordingly, the Marcan chapter first and last is not an apocalypse as it has been erroneously called, for all the distinctive marks of apocalyptic are lacking in it. It is instead a bit of prophetic eschatology containing, as Torrey remarks, "a program of the end of the present age, made known through Hebrew prophecy, which in its main features was familiar to all the Jews of the time."⁴⁴ What Jesus did was to work over this already familiar material and reconstruct it to suit his own purposes with his disciples. But it is not apocalyptic and is not to be confused with apocalyptic.⁴⁵

What, then, it may properly be asked, was Jesus' purpose in working over these prophetic eschatological materials and sending them out with, in some sense at least, his own imprimatur? Since the work of Colani in 1864, followed by that of Weiffenbach in 1873, whence came the term "Little Apocalypse" as applied to Mark, ch. 13, it has been the rather commonly held view that this chapter did not emanate from Jesus at all. Rather it is a Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalypse revised and incorporated by the Church into the Gospel tradition as a portion of the genuine teaching of Jesus. Professor Moffatt is probably correct in saying that this view is "*a sententia recepta* of

Synoptic criticism" among the majority of modern New Testament scholars.⁴⁶

In addition to Torrey's, there have been a few dissenting voices to this commonly accepted position. N. P. Williams, in a contribution to the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, wrote, "I cannot feel that the theory which sees in Mrk xiii a Jewish or Jewish-Christian Apocalypse . . . rests upon any sure foundations."⁴⁷ More recently, and also more constructively, T. W. Manson proposes the theory that "Mrk xiii is a compilation containing genuine utterances of Jesus, but that the way in which the sayings have been arranged is such as to give a wrong impression of his eschatological teaching."⁴⁸ This is surely a more reasonable view and on the whole founded on more substantial data than is the "Little Apocalypse" theory. For the prophetic imagery and parabolic style of the chapter commend themselves as coming from Jesus' lips.

At the same time, however, it was surely a right instinct which led the advocates of the older view to sense here the presence of previously used materials. These were, not of an apocalyptic nature as the older theory held, but rather, as we have seen, prophetic eschatology. Moreover, it was, in our judgment and as Manson affirms, not the Church, but Jesus, who worked over this material as it lies before us in Mark's thirteenth chapter. *What, then, we repeat, was Jesus' motive in using these old eschatological thought frames?*

It is here proposed that our Lord's purpose was to construct out of these eschatological materials what may be termed a little *antiapocalypse*, handing them back in this new and unique form to his disciples for their guidance in the days ahead. He used, that is to say, the same prophetic stuff which was the stock in trade of the apocalypst, but

he molded it in such fashion as to defeat the latter's purpose in handling it! That purpose, as we have seen, was to indicate step by step how the plan of God in History was working out to a grand finale about to succeed the impending crisis, which, be it noted, would come *in the lifetime of those then living, the readers of the apocalypse*. The series of events leading up to the crisis, as well as the crisis itself, were the *signs* of the last great event, the end of History itself.

Now, in Jesus' day and in his terminology, (a) the impending *crisis* becomes the destruction of the Temple and of the national worship therewith (vs. 1, 2); ⁴⁹ and (b) the series of *preceding events* are wars (v. 7), earthquakes (v. 8), famines (v. 8), false prophets (vs. 5, 6), tribulation (v. 8), and persecutions (vs. 9-13) — the usual *pabulum* which the apocalypticist fed his readers. Finally, (c) *if this "apocalypse" ran true to form (which, it is argued here, it does not)*, the series above indicated would constitute *signs* of the end of the age and of the coming of Messiah, and our Lord would finish with a prediction that the present generation would experience the consummation.

Instead, there run through the chapter like a refrain these expressions: "The end is not yet" (v. 7); "believe it not" (v. 21); they "shall lead many astray" (v. 6); "that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect" (v. 22); "but of that day or that hour knoweth no one" (v. 32); "ye know not when the time is" (v. 33). This is as much as to say, "This event is no sign," "that event is no sign" — *indeed, no sign will be given of the end of the age or of the Messiah's coming!* Wars there will be, earthquakes, famines, the destruction of city and Temple. But none of these — not even the last and greatest (vs. 21-23) — is a *sign* of the end of History. Nor does the Messiah come in

any measurable length of time after them. Rather the coming of the "Son of Man" is to be in a remote period denominated by the expression "in *those* days" (v. 24), quite distinct from the "*these things*" (vs. 4, 8, 29), and at an indeterminate point "after that tribulation" (v. 24).

To understand the relevance of all these expressions and note the direction Jesus' argument is intended to take, it is necessary to observe the exact wording of the question of the disciples which prompted the discussion, together with its certain implications. Jesus had spoken of the Temple's destruction, employing words that allowed of no other interpretation than that they were intended as predictive prophecy: "There shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down" (v. 2). The disciples, therefore, ask:

"Tell us, when shall *these things* be? and what shall be the *sign* when *these things* are all about to be accomplished?" (v. 4) [*italics ours*].

Obviously, the question *as it stands* concerns only the Temple's destruction and the "sign" of that event. But our Lord knew what lay in the disciples' minds as they asked it. For, ever since the days of Malachi, "Temple" and "Lord" were inevitably associated with each other in the eschatological picture. "And the Lord, whom ye seek," said Malachi, "will suddenly come to his temple."⁵⁰ The suggestion of Jesus, therefore, that the Temple would be destroyed, naturally startled his disciples. This could mean to their minds only that the "last things" were near at hand, that the Lord was about to come! For obviously if the Temple were to be destroyed, the Lord must come either *before* that event, or *during* it. There could be no third alternative! Matthew, it will be observed, makes this all explicit in the disciples' question:

"Tell us, when shall *these things* be? and what shall be *the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?*" ⁵¹ [italics ours].

Whether they *asked* the question in this form or not, is immaterial; there need be no doubt, at any rate, that this was what the disciples *meant*.

Our Lord, therefore, answered, not the question in its original form as reported in Mark, but rather what he knew to lie behind it in their minds. And his answer was motivated by the desire to dissociate for them the two events which they, literalists that they were, could not think apart. Of the destruction of the Temple, Jesus could and did speak freely and frankly: it would come in that generation, together with the various preceding events indicated (the "all these things" of the disciples' question; cf. vs. 14-20). Moreover, there would be a particular "sign" of its destruction, for which the disciples should be on the alert (vs. 28, 29), and when they saw "these things coming to pass" they were to know that *it* was "nigh, even at the doors." ⁵² Here Jesus spoke as "one of the prophets" of olden time, as a seer who was able to predict the coming of significant events by reading the trends of history under the guidance of the Spirit of God.

And ironically he gave his disciples as the "sign" of the Temple's destruction the appearance within its courts, not of the Lord of the Temple, but of his archenemy, the "*abomination of desolation*" — the Antichrist! For there can be no doubt that this is what the curious expression means. Torrey, following Eberhard Nestle, has shown that the phrase (שִׁיּוּשׁ שׁוֹמֵם — *Shiqqūs Shomēm*) is a clever substitute for *Ba'al Shāmēm* (בַּעַל שָׁמַם), that is, "Lord of the heavens." ⁵³ In the mouth of Jesus, therefore, the meaning can only be "Antichrist," or some such phrase descrip-

tive of the enemy of the true Messiah. The reference, then, will be to the endeavor on the part of Rome to force the state religion upon the Jewish people, the consequent desecration of the Temple, and the ensuing collapse of the national religious worship which Jesus foresaw clearly on the immediate horizon. All this, Jesus, as a prophet who read the "signs of the times," could readily foretell.⁵⁴

In point of fact L preserves a tradition to the effect that Pilate had turned his troops upon some Galileans, perhaps insurrectionists, or such as were thought by him to be so, within the very Temple area and had had them slaughtered.⁵⁵ There is no extant corroboration of this particular incident. But Josephus does contain others of a similar nature in a well-known section devoted to incidents illustrative of the character of Pilate. This is the chapter in which the paragraph relative to Jesus occurs, and curiously our Lord's crucifixion is given as just such an example of the undisciplined nature of this man.⁵⁶ One of Josephus' illustrations is that of the introduction of "Caesar's effigies" — the images of the emperor placed on the standards of the Roman army — into the city of Jerusalem, contrary to the previous policy of the Roman rulers. Our Lord, knowing right well three things, namely, the fanaticism of the Jewish populace, the "Fifth Column" activities of the Sadducaic party, and the essentially totalitarian nature of the Roman state, with its emperor worship, may have been the first in Jewry, indeed, to have foreseen the eventual conflict that led in 70 A.D. to the destruction of Jerusalem and the national worship centered in the Temple.

*The matter of the Messiah's coming, however, and of the accompanying end of History, is on an entirely different plane.*⁵⁷ Of these Jesus had nothing whatever to say. They would come "unheralded and unsung," without "sign" or warning of any sort (vs. 24-27, 31, 32). The

disciple could only "watch and pray" where they were concerned (vs. 33-37). Of that which is within history, "signs" may be expected and can be sought; but of that "far-off divine event" when Eternity shall break into Time, no "sign" in the nature of things will ever appear.

It should be said in passing that this interpretation preserves, in a way in which the common view does not, the dignity of the narrative, particularly of Jesus' twofold reference to time — the one relative to the destruction of the city in that "generation" (v. 30), the other regarding "that day or that hour" of the coming of the Son of Man (v. 32). The common view finds here a distinction merely between larger and smaller categories of *time*, both referring to one event — the end of the world. This is surely *picayunish*; it is absurd to imagine that Jesus should have claimed to know that the end would come in that generation, but should confess that he did not know the exact day or hour! The "day" and "hour" here referred to are clearly the great "day of the Lord" of the Old Testament prophets. It is "that day" and "that hour" of which Jesus knows nothing, and small wonder! ⁵⁸

This exegesis of the so-called "Little Apocalypse" separates our Lord's thought afar from that of the apocalyptic literature of the period. It finds it in perfect accord, however, with the prophetic eschatology. Moreover, it leaves Jesus' own teaching self-consistent. Indeed, our Lord refused to give "signs" of his spiritual powers; that he should have made the destruction of the Temple, then, a "sign" of his own return, and of the end of History — the greatest twofold event of all events — is simply inconceivable. Jesus may well be called the great *counterapocalyptic* of the Jewish tradition! ⁵⁹

THE LEGALISTS

A third group were the *legalists*, the most firmly entrenched of all those who had a share in the Hebraic tradition. This was so for three reasons: *first*, because long before our Lord's day they had succeeded in gaining to their way of thinking the great bulk of the commonality of the Jewish people — they had numbers on their side; *secondly* — and this largely explains the foregoing — they were rigid literalists in their exposition of the Law and thoroughgoing exponents of the same as the verbal Word of God down to the last detail and in its every phase, whether ethical, religious, civil, or ceremonial. Moreover, *thirdly*, it should not be forgotten that for centuries these legalists had in their control an effective instrument for the propagation of their teachings, as well as for maintaining their hold upon the people. This was the synagogue.

Just how the synagogue may have come into being is a matter upon which as yet we seek light. Moore is certainly right, however, in asserting that it was the legalists who "took possession of it and made most effective use of it." ⁶⁰ The strategic importance of this institution will become apparent as one reflects that since the Temple existed only in Jerusalem the Sadducees' influence and power were largely limited to that one center. The synagogue by contrast was found throughout the entire reach of Jewry, and those who controlled it exerted in consequence a proportionate influence on the mind and heart and thought of the common Jew.

These legalists were, of course, the Pharisees, and their teachers were the "scribes" and "doctors of the Law" of the Gospels. They had had an honorable origin during the Maccabean Wars, or so scholars generally surmise, and were in all likelihood successors of the party of the *Hasidim*

— according to the author of I Maccabees, “mighty men of Israel, every one that offered himself willingly for the Law.”⁶¹ At the first this group, refusing to fight on the Sabbath Day, had been slaughtered, “they and their wives and their children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand souls.”⁶² Reconsidering their position later, however, they decided that for the preservation of the Law against the pagan intruder they must fight whenever attacked.⁶³ As Moore remarks, they constituted “the active and progressive element” among the *Hasidim*, “those who thought that when men had nullified God’s law, it was ‘time to do something for the Lord.’”⁶⁴

Josephus is authority for the statement that “the Pharisees have the multitude on their side,”⁶⁵ that is, that in matters pertaining to the Torah they were the interpreters, as well as the examples, of how it should be obeyed. It will further our purpose here to analyze this group whom Josephus calls “the multitude.” So far as our information goes, it consisted of: (a) the Zealots, a warlike clan which recognized the legal principles of the Pharisees but acknowledged God “to be their only Ruler and Lord,” and held it a duty, hence, to cast off the yoke of Rome by force: ⁶⁶ the Pharisees held them in leash with difficulty or not at all; (b) the really religious core of the nation, called by various terms — “saints,” “pious,” “holy,” “*Hasidim*,” “the poor,” and others: ⁶⁷ these constituted the best element among the Jewish people and to this group the greater number of Jesus’ disciples without doubt belonged; (c) the secular-minded and formally religious who found it worth while for a multitude of reasons to appear religious. These are found in every land and among every people. They have no religious value but exert a greater influence by far than their lack of ethical and spiritual worth justifies. They were found among the crowds on numerous occasions with-

out doubt, urging on the Pharisees in their baiting of Jesus, and many of them must have looked on at the crucifixion. These were Josephus' "multitudes" and it was they with whom Jesus had largely to deal during his ministry; they made up the *people's party* of the day — a nondescript enough lot they were, and the Pharisees were their proud leaders.

What, then, were the beliefs of these legalists? Obviously, they would be the sort of things a crowd like that just described could be made to believe! We are not implying that the Pharisees were opportunists; not more so, at all events, than any group of leaders similarly placed would have been. As a result of the researches of the past twenty-five years, we have far more respect today for the Pharisees than formerly. Mistaken they surely were in their whole approach to the subject of the divine revelation and of the meaning of religion generally. Yet many of them were earnest and sincere, and a few of them were deeply spiritual men. A religious order does not work out the 789 pages of Canon Danby's edition of the Mishnah, with all its minute rules for living one's daily life according to the Law of God every moment of the day and in every possible detail of the day's activities, for nothing!

However, the *multitude* in every land and in every age is, by and large, materialistic, secular-minded, nationalistic (ultrapatriotic) in its sympathies and racial in its antipathies, sensual in its emotional life, inclined toward ritual as the *easy* way to perform one's religious duties, prepared to resign its conscience to the custom of its class. The Pharisees and their instructors, the rabbis, found to hand in the Torah material of a character to serve the religious yearnings of just such a multitude. Out of that material they created their theology and ethics.

Our chief authorities for their teachings are the Gospels

and the letters of Paul, the Mishnah, and Josephus. From all these we learn of their doctrine that the sum of religion consists in the meticulous observance of every command of God as found in the Torah, written and unwritten, and quite regardless of its reference, whether to matters ethical, religious, or ceremonial. In point of fact, they made no such distinctions as these words imply. All was Torah and all was equally to be obeyed. Their conception of the Kingdom of God was theocratic or particularistic; that is to say, they limited the salvation process to Israel, though through proselytism they allowed for the entrance of individuals from among all races and peoples into the "people of God." They looked for the coming of the Messiah — a great national figure of the tribe of Judah and of the line of David, one who should sit on David's throne and govern a restored Israel, overthrowing the yoke of Rome or having it overthrown for him by the direct action of God.

There have been in modern times a variety of schools of criticism which have endeavored to understand Jesus against the background of this popular Pharisaic teaching. However much they have differed in other matters and however widely separated their sympathies generally were in matters of interpretation, here they have been at one. Jesus, they argue in substance, came out of the crowd which had been taught by the Pharisees in the synagogue — both in school and worship service. He belonged, to be sure, among its best element, the *Hasidim*. Nonetheless, he had nourished his spirit on the Torah as interpreted by the Pharisees. Doubtless he rejected much they taught and he looked askance on the unworthy, self-righteous lives of many of them. He stressed *character* rather than *conduct*, the reverse of the Pharisees' ethical teaching. Still, in his emphasis upon the essence of the Torah, in his narrow,

view of the reach of the salvation he had to offer, and more particularly in his consciousness of a Messianic calling, he was at heart Jewish and never transcended the nationalistic standpoint.

No school of thought, of course, quite understands Jesus in all these terms at once. Still it is in some such fashion that numerous scholars have attempted an appreciation of his life and work. They have held that the only approach possible is through the medium of the popular views of his day, which to some extent he is said to have held. In this, for example, many of both the old Liberal and old Orthodox schools were at one. Millenarians will be found in many cases to interpret Jesus' Messianic consciousness in this nationalistic and, on the whole, Pharisaic sense. Adolf Harnack and Shailer Matthews, with their view of a "formal Messiahship," should perhaps be placed here also. And so should certainly many who, from the days of David Friedrich Strauss, like H. J. Holtzmann and Vernon Bartlet, have spoken of a "developing Messianic consciousness." The endeavor is not, of course, to catalogue individuals, but to come to grips with a point of view.

What these students of the New Testament appear to have in common is the thought that Jesus came to the "Messiah" and "Kingdom of God" concepts with his mind full of the popular notions and popular (mis)understanding of the Old Testament writings on these subjects; moreover, that he did so because his Pharisaic teachers had got these notions out of the Old Testament writings and *because there were in reality no others to be found there!* Jesus, such students hold, believed himself to be the Messiah of Israel "according to the flesh" and that sooner or later he would set up his throne in Jerusalem.

F. C. Grant, in his recent *Gospel of the Kingdom*, accords with the view that no other than the popular con-

ception of the Messiah and the Kingdom of God was known and taught in Jesus' day. He rejects, however, the corollary that Jesus therefore thought himself to be the Jewish Messiah along these the only lines he knew. In this connection he cites the modern Liberal Jewish rabbi, Joseph Klausner, as authority for the statement that "the figure of the Messiah was always conceived politically, i.e., as an anointed king who should reign in God's name and with the divine blessing over a restored Israel."⁶⁸ Professor Grant then makes the obvious deduction that, either Jesus held to this crass, nationalistic view of his Messiahship, or else he rejected the whole conception. Of these alternatives, Professor Grant thinks Jesus chose the latter.

Criticism of the view which accords with the former of Grant's alternatives is best cared for, one imagines, in the course of an elaboration of Jesus' teaching generally. Here, therefore, it will be sufficient to remark, that anyone who supposes that Jesus, with his deep insights into spiritual and ethical truth, can have accepted for a single moment the popular doctrine regarding the Messiah is simply welcome to such belief! The assumption, however, which underlies this view, as well as that of Professor Grant, namely, that in the Judaism previous to Jesus' day there was but one (the popular Pharisaic) notion of the Messiah is unwarranted. It ignores the best thought of the Old Testament prophets. To this latter we now turn. And by way of introducing the prophetic conception, let us place beside the words of Rabbi Klausner just quoted a justly indignant quotation from another Liberal Jewish scholar, Claude G. Montefiore. Writing of the assumption to which reference has been made, Montefiore remarks:

"No one would imagine in reading Merx, or others of his stamp, that there was any ethical or spiritual side to the

'Jewish' Messiah. The *Judenmessias* would appear to be a sort of Napoleon, protected and inspired by the narrow 'Jewish' God. The impartial historian will not deny that there was a 'particularist' and 'national' side to the Jewish Messiah. . . . But it is not impartial to deny or ignore that there was another side also. Jesus had not to go beyond Isaiah for a conception of the Messiah which was both Jewish and ethical, far more ethical, indeed, than the 'Man' of Daniel vii. 13." ⁶⁹

THE PROPHETIC HERITAGE

Those who recognize the presence within Judaism as it was in Jesus' day of the three types of thought to which reference has already been made, namely, the *Sadducaic*, the *apocalyptic*, and the *Pharisaic*, often overlook the fact that there was also a fourth — the *prophetic*. Of course, the work of the prophets was by no means ignored by the other three elements of the Judaism of the first century. The Sadducees apparently affected to disregard their contribution, while nominally accepting it as a part of inspired Scripture. They had their reasons: the prophet had opposed the priest from the day that Hosea, in the middle of the eighth century B.C., had declared the oracle of the Lord,

"I desire goodness, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." ⁷⁰

But the apocalyptic element was undeniably built upon the prophetic, which had immediately preceded it. In a sense, indeed, the apocalyptists were the spiritual heirs of the prophets and the mantle of the one had fallen upon the other. The Pharisees, moreover, in theory accepted the Prophets as much as they accepted the Law: both were in reality Torah — God's revealing voice to his people.

And yet, in at once a subtler and a higher sense the pro-

phetic element was not truly apprehended, and as a consequence it could not be faithfully represented, by any of the other groups. Our Lord himself brought this to the attention of the religious leaders in startling fashion by proposing the question, "The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men?"⁷¹ This was not intended as a poser; it was a straightforward way of showing to Pharisees and Sadducees alike just where they stood spiritually. They had asked him for his "authority," and he answered with a question whose answer was one with that of their own! The answer to both questions at once — that about John's baptism and that concerning Jesus' authority — was that *both were prophetic in character*. Had the religious rulers of the contemporary Judaism been capable of discerning the prophetic element in John's ministry, they would have discerned it in that of Jesus. They saw it in neither! The parable of the Wicked Husbandmen follows,⁷² and its point is as unmistakable to us as it was clear to them (v. 12), namely, that *the prophetic voice in the Hebrew culture is a thing apart*, understood neither by the ritualist, nor by the apocalypticist, nor by the legalist. Therefore, they could only attempt to destroy it!

In the last analysis, what we have termed the prophetic heritage is identical with the divine revelation rightly conceived. It is the diapason of the voice of God calling to his people throughout the Scriptures. It is by no means limited to the portion of the Old Testament denominated "the Prophets": it occurs in The Psalms beyond measure; it thunders from Sinai; it is the speaker in Deut. 6:4, 5:

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might."

Paul was speaking of it when he wrote:

"But we received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is from God; that we might know the things that were freely given to us of God." ⁷⁸

The prophetic heritage of Judaism was, accordingly, a spiritual dynamic to be felt by those who were sensitive to its influence. It was, as Jesus said of his own word, "spirit, and . . . life." It was the Gospel overtone heard throughout the entire Biblical orchestration. It freed the man capable of apprehending it and set him in a "large place," from whence he could catch a glimpse of the Delectable Mountains of the providence and the promises of God to his people.

However, it is only to *faith* that all this is so. To faith alone is the *prophetic voice* one with the voice of God. To the objective historian this *voice* is nothing more than another cultural element in Israel's long and rich cultural history. Judging by the best ethical and spiritual standards with which the historian is acquainted, he would doubtless have to admit that it stood for the highest achievement of the Hebrew mind. Nonetheless, he would insist that it is no more than that *best* and *highest*; for to his way of thinking it is something which arises out of the Hebrew cultural ethos. For the purposes of the argument we are advancing in this book, we deem it imperative to proceed on this empirical level. Accordingly, though we acknowledge that to faith the prophetic heritage has higher connections, it is included here as an element merely of the cultural tradition of the Hebrew people.

As to its form, the prophetic voice was *critical* — of the conduct and more particularly of the character of the people of God, of the legalistic, the ritualistic, the ceremonial side of that people's life, of their religious and social and political customs, above all of every voice that claimed to be

identified with itself! "The Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail. . . . The elder and the honorable man, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail"! ⁷⁴ As to its content, it was evangelical — it spoke of judgment and salvation, of sin and punishment, of regeneration and life; it called men to repentance in view of the righteous judgment of God and it declared the divine grace upon the repentant sinner. It called men to the Ash Wednesday experience, "Repent ye"; but it also proclaimed "the acceptable year of the Lord," for with it the Kingdom of God was always at hand.

This prophetic voice had a doctrine of its own of the Messiah, one not to be confused with either the particularistic, racial Messiah of popular Pharisaism, or the supramundane "Son of Man" Messiah of the apocalyptic literature. This was the highly ethical and spiritual conception of Montefiore's stricture.⁷⁵ To be sure, even in the prophets the old popular, nationalistic strain was to be detected. This is only what one would have expected, but the prophetic voice sat in judgment on that strain and pronounced it nonprophetic! This nonprophetic element is found, for example, in Ezekiel, where the "nations" are judged in order that Israel may be restored! ⁷⁶ Israel, indeed, will be purified, but the point is that it will be *Israel*, Israel as such, Israel as a *Remnant* that will thus be purified and made to "turn" to the Lord! ⁷⁷ All this is for *the Lord's name's sake*, and not primarily for Israel's good. It is to be done with a view to the restoring of the Lord's honor in his world.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, it still holds that the conception even here is particularistic; Ezekiel never rises above the thought of Israel as God's "chosen people." Accordingly, the Messiah is for him the viceroy of God in Israel. "And my servant David shall be king over them. . . . And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my

servant, wherein your fathers dwelt . . . and David my servant shall be their prince for ever.”⁷⁹ That this nationalistic, nonprophetic Messiah appears even in the prophets themselves, therefore, however the phenomenon is to be explained, is clear and generally recognized by all students of Old Testament prophecy.⁸⁰

But it should be equally evident that beside this narrow picture of the Messiah there lies another which may only be characterized as universalistic, because of its highly ethical and spiritual nature. Of this *prophetic* Messiah, C. F. Burney writes:

“We can trace in the prophets the doctrine of a future *religious universalism* in which the nations are united to Israel by community in the highest of interests. *This develops side by side with the Messianic ideal, and is of a piece with it. The two ideas cannot, therefore, be properly dissociated*”⁸¹ [italics ours].

That is to say, in the *prophetic strand* of the Hebraic culture the concepts of *universalism* (the over-all sovereignty of God among all men) and *Messiahship* emerged and grew apace in the minds of the same prophets. Naturally, therefore, they related themselves the one to the other and they are to be understood, if at all, in their interaction upon each other.

It is pertinent, *first*, to note that the universalism was achieved in a unique way by the prophets who realized and accepted it. Taking as their starting point the thought elaborated in the story of Elijah, of the “seven thousand . . . which have not bowed unto Baal” (v. 18), they developed the doctrine of the Remnant.⁸² Beginning with Amos in the middle of the eighth century B.C., the Remnant concept was held successively by Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, by what some scholars consider to be a later prophet

at Amos 9:8-10, and then by Zephaniah, Deutero-Isaiah, Zechariah, Joel, and Ezra.⁸³ Not all of this writing is upon the same level, but, speaking generally, it was the concept of the Remnant which gradually succeeded in breaking down the idea that Israel stood related to God *as a unit*. Previously the Israelite felt himself to be religiously *safe*, that is, assured of whatever God had to give to His people, by virtue of his membership in the "chosen people." With the emergence of the Remnant concept, it became clear that a man stood related to God on an individual level. The old national solidarity was destroyed and the individual no longer could feel safe as a member of the mass. He stood by himself alone before God, and his membership in the Remnant became a matter, not of racial ties, but of *a moral choice*! Manson has said this better than most, as follows:

"In the doctrine of the Remnant a decisive step is taken towards the individualizing of religion; and this religious individualism modifies in one essential matter the idea of a people of God. . . . Membership in the nation came by accident of birth; in the Remnant it is a matter of deliberate choice by the individual."⁸⁴

Now, it ought to be obvious that the *universalization* of the idea of man's religious relation to God of necessity follows its *individualization*. Take away from a religion its national and racial basis, make of it a matter of an individual relationship achieved between God and man, and obviously the religion is well on its way to becoming a universal faith. This was the great achievement of the prophetic strain of the Hebraic culture from the eighth century B.C. forward. And it was in view of this individualizing of the concept of religion that the prophetic call to repentance acquired real significance. Eventually, the

concept passed over into Jeremiah's doctrine of the "new covenant,"⁸⁵ which, as Ottley remarks, "marks an onward step in Israel's religious education; for *it implies that the Messiah was not destined to fulfil the aspirations of national ambition, but to satisfy the yearnings of spiritual need*"⁸⁶ [italics ours].

Ottley's reference to the Messiah in this context brings us to our last point, namely, that the prophetic doctrine of the Messiah also developed apace with the other two doctrines of universalism and the Remnant, at which we have just been looking. All three concepts arose out of the same situations and in the minds of the same prophets! Thus, in Micah we have "a touch of true universalism" in ch. 4:2, "And many nations shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, and to the house of the God of Jacob";⁸⁷ again, the Remnant appears at v. 7 below, "And I will make that which was lame a remnant, and that which was cast far off a strong nation"; finally, the Messiah appears in the next chapter (ch. 5:2-5), "Out of thee shall one come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel."

The Gentile nations' downfall appears to be assumed by Micah (Micah 4:11-13), that is, their destruction *as nations*. But inasmuch as individuals from among them would join themselves to the Remnant of Israel, the Messiah who should appear would rule both that Remnant and the individuals who chose God as their sovereign Lord, would in fact become the Messiah of what might right well be termed the "joint remnant" — a term which, however, the Hebrew prophet admittedly never used.

The same conception of the Messiah as ruler at once of the Israelitish Remnant and of those who should join themselves to it from among the nations is found in the well-known passage at Isa. 11:1-16, as Manson has shown.⁸⁸ It

is even possible that the expression, "Ye that are escaped of the nations," in Deutero-Isaiah (ch. 45:20), as Hertrich argues in Kittel's *Wörterbuch*, is the semitechnical designation for the *Gentile remnant* who flock to Messiah's banner.⁸⁹ In Jeremiah also the same three elements of the prophetic hope are clearly seen: the universalism in ch. 3:17, the Remnant idea in ch. 3:14, and the Messiah in ch. 23:5-8 and elsewhere.

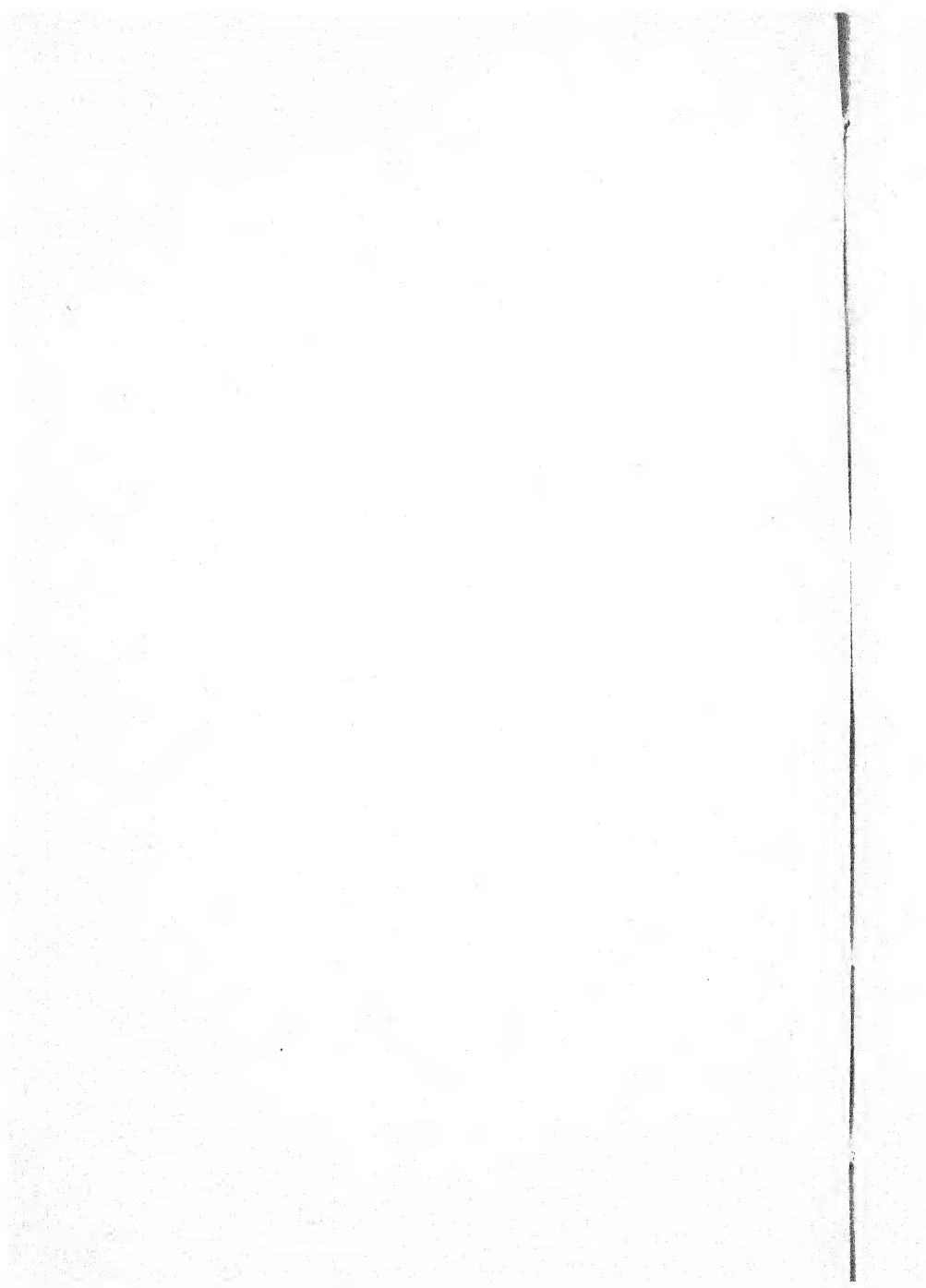
To sum up, T. W. Manson, upon whom we have been leaning more than upon any other in the statement of this argument, has shown that the individualizing, the ethicizing, and the universalizing of the two concepts of the Remnant and the Messiah go hand in hand in the great prophetic literature of Israel from the eighth century B.C. down to and beyond the Exile. The relevant passages in his *Teaching of Jesus* should be read as a whole and pondered with care by the student. Here we have been able to present but a selection of the data he uses to build up his thesis. But that selection has been, we believe, enough to show that as the Messiah and Remnant concepts developed within the prophetic strand of the Hebrew culture, they inevitably approached one another until they eventually fused into a single idea, namely, that of the Messiah of the Remnant. Moreover, in view of the history of its development, that Remnant in the highest thought of the prophets was conceived as joining forces with individuals from every race and nation who should come to worship the true God as a genuine portion of his people. That people in its new character, not corporately, but singly, individually, and thus in the end, *without exception*, made the ethical choice of God as the Lord of life. Obviously, then, "the Messiah of the Remnant" concept was an ethicospiritual one, as far as possible removed from the nationalistic Messiah of the popular thought.

We find ourselves in *formal* agreement, accordingly, with Montefiore's caveat on *Judenmessias* quoted above. We do not follow him, however, if, in his reference to Isaiah as a source for his "ethical or spiritual side to the 'Jewish' Messiah," he has reference to the Great Figure of the Deutero-Isaiah. That Figure is the "Suffering Servant of the Lord," and Judaism at no stage in her history identified it with the Messiah. The Suffering Servant remained in the prophetic heritage of Israel a concept apart. Indeed, so far as our evidence goes, it lay, one may almost say, quite sterile in that heritage, for it was never taken up by later writers and developed as was true of the Messiah-Remnant nexus. The great Deutero-Isaianic Servant came to the birth in the mind of a single prophet, but he had no history; like Melchizedek he was "without genealogy" and without biography. He was a meteor flashing across the sensitive plate of the prophet's photographic imagination, and again into the night. But the brilliant light of that single flash was not eradicated. It remained a part of the prophetic heritage to be taken up and used when a new day dawned in Israel.

Now, by a process of elimination in this chapter, we appear to have arrived at the conclusion that Jesus attached himself either to this prophetic element within the Hebrew culture or to no element at all. The Church, in its account of his baptism and temptation, committed him to the former of these alternatives, that is, more particularly to understanding the nature of his own mission in terms of the two great prophetic figures of the "Messiah of the Remnant" and the "Suffering Servant of the Lord." It is our conviction, and we shall attempt to demonstrate in the succeeding chapters, that the Church was right.

We believe that in achieving continuity with the highest level of the Hebrew cultural life Jesus exhibited a degree

of insight which is the true mark of originality. Originality always builds upon the best the past has to offer, because it sees and evaluates that best at its proper worth. Or, to change the figure, we believe that Jesus climbed out upon the high peak of the prophetic revelation, thus acquiring a point of vantage from which he could view the Delectable Mountains of God's promises far ahead. And because he did just that he was able to go forward and to scale those mountains as the great "author and perfecter of our faith." 80



*The Challenge of the Kingdom—
Word and Work*

“Speak boldly, man, the truth is on thy
side:

Die for it, and to life in triumph ride.”

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

SYNOPSIS

NEW TESTAMENT scholars of the past hundred years and more have tended to hold either of two positions relative to Jesus' "Messianic consciousness," that is: (a) that he entertained one of the narrow, particularistic type, or (b) that his consciousness of being the Messiah was severely attenuated, if indeed he had any at all. Speaking generally, the Tübingen school and the followers of Ritschl have held to the first and the Mythical school to the second of these propositions. John Knox has recently suggested that Jesus thought of himself, not in terms of Messiahship, but nonetheless as having an important relation to the Kingdom of God. Frederick C. Grant has gone even farther in his skepticism regarding Jesus' awareness of the nature of his person and mission. He contents himself with affirming the utter "uniqueness" of Jesus for religion.

The thesis here proposed is that Jesus' every word and act was motivated by his "intention" to fulfill the requirements of the Suffering Servant, Messiah of the Remnant concept. In proof of this contention, we examine in this chapter: (1) the teaching of Jesus, noting his winsomeness, authority, and "wisdom," and (2) the works of Jesus — their relation to his words, their nature as signs, and their ultimate purpose. It appears, then, that both word and work are intended to challenge men with the presence of the Kingdom of God in their midst, that is to say, both have Messianic or redemptive significance.

Is this uniqueness of word and work that of an individual (Jesus), or of the Church?

III

THE *voice* of Old Testament prophecy proclaimed the advent of two great personalities — a *Remnant-Messiah* and a *Suffering Servant of the Lord*. The *voice* out of heaven at the inauguration of Jesus' ministry put these two together in the one ordination formula: "Suffering Servant, Messiah of the Remnant." The Acts repeats the formula in almost identical words.¹ Moreover, though just this combination of terms does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament writings, it may be said without hesitancy that the ideology constituting the combination forms the very foundation of the New Testament theology. Translate these Hebraic expressions into their Greek equivalents and they become the common coin of Christian speech: for "Suffering Servant" put *the Crucified Saviour*; for "Messiah," *Lord*;² for "Remnant," *Church*. Now read them together: *the Crucified Saviour, the Lord of the Church!*

In their Hebrew dress these phrases are unintelligible to us, because our thinking is dominated by the pagan Greek thought frames and is very largely the product of its ideology. The Hebrew words, accordingly, fail to impress us

with their depth of meaning. It is only when we translate them into their Greek equivalents that they startle us: "Crucified Saviour, Lord of the Church." And they should startle us, for they exhibit an originality which is truly astounding. It is that simple combination of phrases, indeed, that is responsible for the transformation of a religion. Apart, they lay sterile within the prophetic literature. Brought into relation with one another, they formed together the living seed out of which the Christian faith was born.

The prophets achieved the creation of these two phrases *in isolation*, as we have seen. The "Suffering Servant" is the fruitage of the Deutero-Isaiah's inspired meditation; the "Remnant-Messiah" idea was a slower growth. Both, however, became the stock in trade of the prophetic strand of Hebrew culture centuries before the Christian Era. But *who first brought these terms together into a fertilizing union?* This question is of cosmic significance. The answer to it is the name of the originator of Christianity as we know it. He is the creator of the New Testament faith and of the Christian Church.

Essentially it is the answer to this question that students of the New Testament have been earnestly seeking for the past hundred years and more. It is this problem in substance with which Professor John Knox is dealing, as he writes these striking words:

"The Christian Church had its origin in a mystery, if not in a miracle; in the unexplained, if not in the inexplicable. The historical student tracing backward the history of the Church can proceed facilely enough until he reaches the vigorous, joyous faith of the primitive Christian community. . . .

"But when the historian attempts to go back of the

faith of the early church, he immediately runs into insuperable difficulties. He cannot lay his finger on a cause even approximately adequate to the effect! " 3

While one shares Professor Knox's estimate of the difficulty involved, it is possible, we believe, to be somewhat more optimistic of finding a solution than he appears to be. The problem is not an easy one to solve, to be sure, else it would have met with a generally accepted solution long since and it would be a work of supererogation to be dealing with it here. That there are factors which elude one is to be granted. Professor Knox says that " the Christian Church had its origin in a mystery " — indeed yes, the greatest of all mysteries! But that was to have been expected. All the deepest experiences of life begin and end in mysteries. That has become a platitude, particularly in the realm of religion. Wherever the divine and human meet, wherever the perfect circle of Eternity cuts the imperfect one of Time, in that arc there is mystery.

And yet we must not, nay, we dare not, give up this quest. He who has his face toward heaven, he it is who *sees* the mystery of the dawn. And the Christian is by definition one who is on the alert and " watching " for every ingress of the Lord of life. Doubtless no man ever *understands* the mystery thus, but at the very least *he does not miss it!* And he may be fortunate enough to discern the winged heels of the messenger whose lips heralded it to earth.

For after all *this* is our problem, and *not* fully to understand the mystery of the phrases " Suffering Servant," and " Messiah of the Remnant." That admittedly we shall never fully fathom, though our theologians have helped us a long way toward doing so. We seek to fulfill a humbler aim, namely, to know who first brought together the live

wires of these phrases whose contact produced the electric-like power that we call the Christian Church, or, better perhaps, the Christian faith. This, at least, we believe we can discover.

As we approach a consideration of this problem, however, it is important to realize that students of it are by no means at one regarding its solution. Speaking quite generally, a great deal of scholarly opinion during the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries may be said to have fluctuated between two foci. These were the two convictions that: (a) Jesus entertained a Messianic consciousness of the narrow, particularistic type, and (b) that he had either a severely attenuated Messianic consciousness or none at all! F. C. Baur, the Tübingen school, and the Ritschlians generally tended to adhere to the first of these propositions, while the followers of David Friedrich Strauss in the so-called Mythical school — as, for example, Wilhelm Wrede and Julius Wellhausen — and left-wing Form Critics like Nathaniel Schmidt and Rudolf Bultmann have gravitated toward the opposite pole of this theological magnetic field. There have been, to be sure, all sorts of combinations of these two fundamental positions. This is not the place, however, for an exhaustive statement of what has become a very complex body of opinion.

Those who have adhered to the former of the two positions indicated have usually been influenced by the Hegelian philosophy of history. Their solution of our problem was that it was the Apostle Paul who brought together the two dynamic phrases lying ready to hand in the Hebrew prophets. It was he who took the obscure Nazarene who had convinced a few followers that he was the *Jewish* Messiah, and made of him the world's *Saviour* and of his sect the universal Church. Or, if one prefer, the solution of Bousset is to hand: that the Antiochian Greek Church

first used instead of the title "Messiah" that of "Lord" for Jesus, and thus transformed the simple Jewish Messianic movement into a world-wide *savior-religion* akin to the Greek Mysteries.⁴

Members of the Mythical school have been much attracted to the view of Wrede — that Jesus in fact never conceived himself to be the Messiah in any form. The primitive Palestinian Church, however, held Jesus to have been the Messiah and was much embarrassed to explain the entire lack of evidence that during his lifetime he had made Messianic claims for himself. Accordingly, that Church invented the "Messianic secret." Jesus, it said, had entrusted his most intimate disciples, the Twelve, with this esoteric knowledge and had commanded them to publish it abroad only after his death!⁵ Left-wing members of the Form Critical school hold in even more drastic fashion, if possible, than Wrede to the creative power of the Palestinian Church of the third quarter of the first century. The picture of Jesus which we find in the Gospels is largely mythological, arising out of the needs of that Church to solve its very acute problems. Among other things, they contend, it invented for Jesus a Messianic consciousness which he never had.

Now, we think it is fair to say that on the whole scholars within the English-speaking world, at all events, have come to feel that all these solutions are too artificial, and, one may perhaps be permitted to add — in spite of the great labor that has been expended upon them — *too easy!* Is it possible that the Palestinian Church, or that of Antioch, was as creative as these several theories demand? B. S. Easton's remark that the Form Critics' conclusion relative to the source of the creativeness discovered within the pages of the New Testament virtually "canonizes the entire Palestinian Church," and, be it noted, *at the expense*

of *uncanonizing Jesus*, is cogent as a criticism of every theory which seeks to find originality in the group rather than in the individual (Jesus).⁶

Where, it may well be asked, does originality generally lie — with the individual or with the community? Surely, experience is in favor of its lying with the individual. It is the individual that is creative in every phase of human life. Looked at from the purely a priori standpoint, then, the old Hegelian, or rather Ritschlian, crux — “Jesus or Paul” — would seem to have more reason in it than the newer ones of — “Jesus or the Antiochian Church,” or “Jesus or the Palestinian Church”! But the uncovering of original *sources* in the course of the solution of the “Synoptic Problem,” together with the discovery of the so-called “primitive community,” forever eliminated the old Tübingen solution from the field.⁷ It is now acknowledged on all hands that, not Paul, but the Church’s several traditions are responsible for the multiform portrait of the Jesus of the Gospels. The problem, hence, is no longer “Jesus or Paul,” but “Jesus or the Church.” And, if one may predict, it will be the recovery of a saner view relative to the creative potentialities residing in a community that will drive out the Form Critical solution in its more radical statement. To say that the Church produced the faith by which it lives is to affirm the possibility of an ethicospiritual perpetual-motion machine! This surely is as contrary to the laws that operate in the spiritual world as to those functioning in the physical realm.

It is no doubt because they have felt the force of this argument that two American scholars have recently put out monographs in which they plead for the originality of the individual, of Jesus. One of these scholars we have already quoted — Professor John Knox. There is a paragraph in his book *The Man Christ Jesus* in which he states with

great clarity his position on the subject immediately before us:

"It is probable that the truth lies somewhere between these two alternatives [that Jesus possessed a messianic consciousness, or that the Church gave him one], that is, that Jesus, although he did not think of himself as Messiah, did regard himself as sustaining a relation of peculiar intimacy and responsibility to the kingdom of God. *What that relation was we cannot know; Jesus would not have said* — that much truth at least lies in Mark's 'Messianic secret.' But Jesus carried the burden and joy of it in his heart, and Jesus' associates sensed with awe that there was a mystery about his consciousness of himself into which they could not be initiated " ⁸ [*italics ours*].

The second of these recent views is that of Professor Frederick C. Grant, elaborated in his *The Gospel of the Kingdom*. Up to a point Professor Grant's thesis is as clear-cut as that of Dr. Knox. He will have nothing to do with the old categories and he refuses to speak of the so-called "claims of Christ." ⁹ Jesus, he thinks, made no claim whatever for himself. Messiah, "Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven," Suffering Servant of the Lord — all these are but the titles whereby the Early Church tried to catalogue Jesus.¹⁰ We need no longer use these shibboleths to describe him, not because he was less than they are intended to assert; for *in point of fact he was more, much more!* These phrases have lost all meaning for us. Let us, then, rest content with speaking of him as "unique" and with believing in "the adequacy and finality of Jesus' revelation of God" to us. The proper place to start in framing a Christology is, not with Jesus' own consciousness, as scholars have long attempted to do, but with his "spirit."

“ It is the *spirit* of Christ, the most real thing in man’s whole upward reach toward God, in God’s downward reach toward man, that justifies the attribution to Jesus of all the titles by which orthodox Christianity has tried to shadow forth something of his uniqueness, of the splendor of God manifest in the face of Christ Jesus our Lord.” ¹¹

It is to be noted that both Grant and Knox appear to overlook the evidence for any other notion of Messiahship than the crude, popular conception to which we referred in Chapter II.¹² *Both rightly reject the thought that Jesus could ever have remotely entertained the wish to become such a Messiah.* But they know nothing of the high prophetic concept of the “ Messiah of the Remnant.”

It is because both these scholars are unable to discover anything, previous to Jesus’ day, in the thought of Judaism worthy to be compared with his, that they flee to find solace in the thought that after all he was utterly unique and original. It requires no argument, however, that *uniqueness* and *originality* are not incompatible with *continuity*. All scientific advance proceeds on the assumption that new experimentation builds upon the discoveries of the past. And the original minds are those which have been able above their fellows to utilize the thinking that has gone before them.

Some time ago a skilled musical critic was defending one of the great composers of the charge of plagiarism. Said the critic: All the possible themes in music have long since been discovered; he is no plagiarist who uses these themes, then, provided only he shall so make them his own that, when they issue forth again from the depths of his soul, they shall bear the mark of the musician’s personal genius! So it is in the realm of religion. Every *Sura* of the *Qoran* begins with the formula *Bismillahi ’rrahmani ’rrahim*,

that is, *In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate*. The writer once said to a Moslem mullah: "If Mohammed had really known what those words meant, there is enough in them to change the character of the Moslem religion! If they be true, then God ought to do something to save man; but according to Islam He does nothing. How do you account for that fact?" In point of fact, the expression lies sterile in the *Qoran* because it is a plagiarism from the Jewish Scriptures! "But thou, O Lord, art a God merciful and gracious."¹³ The New Testament also took over the expression from the Old, but, like the composer and his old theme, it sent it out in the new form: "Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ"¹⁴ that is to say, something happened here to implement the old creed that man might be saved. *Here is continuity, but originality as well!*

Will anyone have the hardihood to deny that whoever put the two phrases with which we have been dealing — "Suffering Servant" and "Messiah of the Remnant" — together, and of them created the Christian faith, was a spirit most rare and unique? What greater originality or uniqueness could one wish than that? And yet, both concepts were centuries old!

To allow our search for the meaning of Jesus in the ethicoreligious realm to rest with the statement that he belongs in the categories of "uniqueness" and "originality," without attempting to fill those categories with proper content — or, shall we simply say, with the content the New Testament puts into them — is (if the very homely, but expressive, colloquialism may be pardoned) *to leave the historic Jesus out on a limb!* Even so, for what made the Christian faith the power it has been through the centuries, from the first to the twentieth inclusive, was and is the belief that he is the Crucified Re-

deemer, the Lord of life and of the Church. It was, at any rate, *this* particular uniqueness and *this* particular originality which we discover in the Gospel tradition that created the Church. What, then, is left for this *unique* Jesus who did not know himself to be that Redeemer and that Lord to have been or to have done?

To leave Jesus in the unhappy state of a sort of *vacuous uniqueness* is to expose our problem to the danger represented in Jesus' parable of the One and the Seven Devils! ¹⁵ For we thus leave open the door for all the old suggestions regarding the source of the observed originality that created the Christian movement to come trooping back afresh with a host of new ones besides.

It will be well at this point to state as carefully as we may the questions we shall be asking ourselves throughout the discussion. They are: (1) Is the originality that we shall investigate that of an individual, of an incomparable spiritual genius, or is it that of a community, the primitive Church? That is, Did the Church create this "Jesus of History," or did it merely succeed admirably in portraying him? (2) Was this uniqueness a mark of discontinuity, or did it not rather symbolize a deep-seated continuity with the best and highest in the Hebraic culture, namely, with the prophetic strand of that culture?

The data upon which a judgment is to be based concern: (a) the teaching, (b) the work, (c) the person, and (d) the intention, of Jesus. It is impossible to dissociate these items entirely from one another. There exists between them an inner unity which gives evidence of a single underlying source of each and all. So far as may be, however, we shall endeavor to study them in isolation. In the present chapter we are concerned with the first two.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS

New Testament scholarship has isolated at least five *sources* (Mrk, Q, M, L, Jn) for the life and teachings of our Lord. Of these *sources*, three bear specific testimony to the marvelous character of that life and teaching. Thus:

Luke 4:22 (L): "And they began to thrill at the *gracious words* which kept issuing from his mouth."

Mark 1:22: "And their reaction was one of astonishment at his teaching, for *his manner was that of conscious authority*, and not like that of the Rabbis."

A bit later in the same context we read that, as the people strive to analyze their first surprise, they exclaim, "What is this?" and they decide:

Mark 1:27: "It is a *novel (i.e., qualitatively new) kind of teaching, possessing an authority of its own.*"^{16, 17}

Again:

John 7:46: "Never man so spake."

Mark 6:2: "And the many who heard were reacting with astonishment, saying, *Where does he get these things (or this learning), and (of) what (sort) is the 'wisdom' which he has been given?*" Cf. Matt. 13:54.

It is not surprising that the Q strand of the Gospel tradition should say nothing of the effect of Jesus' words on his hearers. That source contained little, or no, narrative. Accordingly, there was no opportunity for it to indicate how the people felt about Jesus' teachings.¹⁸ For another obvious reason M also had little, if any, occasion to refer to the people's reactions. T. W. Manson has done a piece of extraordinarily suggestive work in analyzing the char-

acter of the audiences that heard Jesus teach. And it is a striking fact that the M teachings were delivered as follows: 66.3 per cent to the intimate group of "disciples," 8.4 per cent to the "multitudes," and 25.3 per cent to his "enemies." Clearly, on this reckoning one need not expect M to comment much on the effect of Jesus' words upon the crowds, for this source scarcely reports anything he said to them! (By contrast, the figures for the other Synoptic sources are: Mrk — 23 per cent, L — 34.9 per cent, and Q — 36.9 per cent, in each case the percentage representing the teaching given to the "multitudes.")¹⁹

The three sources (Mrk, L, Jn), which, as above indicated, do emphasize the effect of Jesus' teaching on his popular audiences, testify to three separate characteristics of the teaching. These are: (a) its winsomeness (L); (b) its tone of authority (Mrk, Jn); (c) its depth of insight or "wisdom" (Mrk).

The Winsomeness of Jesus' Manner of Teaching

It is Luke alone, or his source (L), who testifies to the winsome character of Jesus' manner before an audience. For that seems to be the meaning of the expression "the gracious words," with which he describes the reason for the thrill that ran through the congregation in the synagogue at Nazareth. The Greek term, *charis* (χάρις), which is the second word in the phrase translated "the gracious words," is nowhere used by Luke in his Gospel in the distinctively Biblical sense of "the saving grace of God," though he does appear so to use it in The Acts. In the Gospel, as is proper for a writer who knows good vernacular Greek, the word is used in its popular senses of "favor," "approval," even of "thanks," and "winsomeness."²⁰ To say that the people in the synagogue marveled at Jesus' "gracious words," then, will mean that the

very attractiveness of his manner of address won them from the start. He had the poetic cadence, the modulation of voice, the easy, flowing style that mark the gifted and pleasing speaker.

The alternative to this interpretation of the Lucan passage would be to suppose that Luke intends here to stress the *content* of Jesus' message. His meaning on that assumption would be that the people observed and thrilled at the fact that Jesus was preaching the "words regarding the saving grace of God," that is to say, that he was preaching the Gospel. That Luke does not mean this is proved by two observations: *First*, that the comment was made by the people at the *beginning*, rather than at the end, of the discourse. It is at the beginning of an address, as everyone knows from experience, that an audience takes cognizance of such matters as style and form, and of mannerisms in the speaker. Thereafter the listeners become absorbed rather in *what* he says than in how he says it — provided always he has something of importance to say! *Again*, when in fact that day at Nazareth they had listened long enough to discover the content of his message they became so enraged at it that, despite his pleasing manner, they rose up and threw him out!

Israel Abrahams has a chapter on what he calls "The Freedom of the Synagogue," in which he argues for the entirely historical character of this scene in Luke, ch. 4. It is one of the two best accounts, he holds, of the ancient synagogue service, the other being also from Luke's pen in Acts, ch. 13.²¹ Possibly the "freedom" to which Abrahams refers was of a character to have allowed of audible comment on this occasion regarding our Lord's winsome manner in the pulpit! It would seem so. "Why," some remarked, "is not this Joseph's son?" (L). There are always those whose hearts warm at the success of a local

son, and it is this feeling which Luke's source reports. But there are the other sort too — folks who are prepared to join with the outsiders in asking, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" This sort of people seem to have been present in the synagogue as well. For Mark tells us that they began to sniff: "Is not this the local carpenter, son of the widow Mary?" "And do we not know his brothers who formerly lived in this very town?" "And aren't his sisters even yet living in our midst?" These little souls, says Mark, were simply "scandalized" at the presumption of this local son! ²²

Modern psychology makes it possible for us to evaluate evidence of this sort. It is the strongest proof we could wish of the overwhelming impression Jesus made on people in the early days. It is the forceful, the winsome, the truly great personality that instantly makes both friends and enemies. History is crowded with examples of this truth. Men instinctively know a leader when they see him, and they either love or hate him on the spot. That is the sort of personality Jesus was. He said himself that all men were at once divided into two groups through his simple presence in their midst, into friends and enemies.²³ This was the "sword" he wielded among men, the "fire" he cast on the earth; and the effect was felt by all he contacted, even dividing friends and relatives against each other! ²⁴

All the so-called "lives" of our Lord are written around this fact. For what appears to be our oldest Gospel source, Mark,²⁵ is witness that from the beginning of his Galilean ministry a cleavage arose within the ranks of Jesus' hearers. He carried the crowds with him for the time being, but the religious leaders, those for whom he became a potential menace, and their coterie of followers, "hated" him on sight. The popularity, on the one hand, and the

ire, on the other, tell each in its own way the same story. It is difficult to say whether the one or the other is the weightier as testimony to the "winsomeness" of Jesus! Love and hatred are simply the normal responses of disparate natures to the same creative force, a gracious spirit of surpassing brilliance.

It is a matter of record also that Jesus was attractive to children. They unhesitatingly came to his arms and seated themselves on his knees—sure sign of a winsome personality.²⁶ Accordingly, we may conclude without hesitation that the growth in "favor with God and men," to which Luke bears witness in the Child Jesus, had its natural fruitage in the man.²⁷

The question that arises, then, in the light of this evidence, is this: Did the record produce this personality or the personality the record? Did this uniqueness lie with Jesus or with the Church? There is, if we mistake not, just a hint as to the right answer to be found in the history of the word *charis*, with which we have been dealing. It is a well-known fact that this word is seldom used in the Septuagint to define the divine character in comparison with its less rich synonym, *eleos* (ἐλεος), "mercy." When we come to the New Testament, however, the tables are at once and amazingly reversed. The figures are as follows: ²⁸

	<i>eleos</i>	<i>charis</i>
LXX —	166	17
N.T. —	26	120

Why this relative preference of the New Testament for the latter term? May it not be due to the fact that *charis*, unlike *eleos*, was capable of representing a personal (i.e., nonethical) characteristic—*winsomeness* or *graciousness*—which had endeared itself to the primitive group

that knew Jesus in the flesh? They would often speak of this attribute as they talked over their wonderful associations with him. And then, quite naturally, as the word had also the deeper ethical meaning, the emphasis would pass over in the course of years to that richer side.

This transition would have taken place, of course, in a Greek-speaking community, not in an Aramaic-speaking one, as the play involved is that upon a Greek word. It is perhaps not without significance, therefore, that the three Gospel sources whose ethos appears to be most Jewish — Mrk, Q, and M — never use the word *charis* in any sense whatever, while the two with Gentile contacts — L and Jn — not only use it, but do so in the several senses indicated above, in their narrative portions. We have already made reference to the instances in L.²⁹ In John's Gospel the word occurs only at ch. 1:14, 16, 17, and it is, of course, possible that in these three verses it is used in but the one sense of *the divine grace*. The usual English versions so understand it. At the same time, however, it is possible that there is a development here in the significance of the term, as follows: (a) "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us . . . full of *grac(iousness)* and faithfulness," where the stress is upon the human and ethical attributes in Jesus' personality, followed by (b) "For of his fullness we all received, even *favor for favor*," and finally by (c) "For the Torah was given through Moses, *saving grace* and faithfulness came through Jesus Christ." In favor of this interpretation it may be urged that the author of the Fourth Gospel delights in developing the rich content of many of the more significant terms which he uses.³⁰ John's eventual meaning, then, will be that through the human graciousness of Jesus' nature the divine grace gave expression to itself — the precious content in the earthen vessel.

Charis in the New Testament is, however, Paul's word par excellence, and we should expect, if the theory we have advanced be true, to find some relic of the older use of the term to describe a personal characteristic of Jesus somewhere in his writings. Perhaps II Cor. 8:9 is just such a relic of the early use of *charis*, as Paul had heard it on the lips of the early disciples: "For ye know the *grac* (iousness) of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor." Moffatt appears to agree with this understanding of the passage, for he translates it: "You know how gracious our Lord Jesus Christ was." The interpretation proposed is the more likely in view of the fact that in this chapter Paul is urging the Corinthian Christians to display in their liberality a like *grac* (iousness).³¹

No doubt this is as strong proof of the use of the term in the more personal sense with relation to our Lord as one has a right to expect within the New Testament writings. For, when the theological meaning would develop, no doubt as Armitage Robinson has suggested in the immediate ethos of Paul's Gentile mission, the older one would tend to fall into disuse.³²

The Authority and "Wisdom" Exhibited in Jesus' Teaching

The *authority* and *wisdom* exhibited in Jesus' teaching are closely allied. The *authority* which the people sensed in what he said, as compared with the lack of the same in the pronouncements of their rabbis, was the formal manifestation of a type of spiritual insight, or *wisdom*, which was unique in their experience. Accordingly, it will be convenient to discuss the two terms together.

To begin with, the term *wisdom* applied by the people to Jesus' teaching had had a long history behind it in both

Hebrew and Greek circles.³³ In fact, a whole literature — canonical and extracanonical — called the “Wisdom Literature,”³⁴ had gathered about it. *Wisdom* had come to stand for a species of insight into reality akin to that of God, if not actually induced by his Spirit in man.³⁵ It is not strange, therefore, that in both Mark 1:27 and 6:2, the “teaching” and the “miracles” are associated as belonging to the same category; both were adjudged as from God. Professor Moffatt’s translation of the latter passage throws this thought into high relief: “What is the meaning of this wisdom he is endowed with? And these miracles, too, that his hands perform!”³⁶ The *wisdom* and the *miracles* at once suggested the presence of a power at work in Jesus of a highly extraordinary kind!

Moreover, the phrase *hōs exousian echōn* (ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων) in Mark 1:22, which we have rendered freely to read, “His manner was that of conscious authority,” tells much the same tale. Israel Abrahams cites A. Wünsche with approval as explaining the phrase from a similar one in the Talmudic literature, namely, “from the mouth of power” (מפני הנבירה) (*mi penē ha gēbūrāh*), which, says Abrahams, connotes “the possession of direct divine inspiration,” inasmuch as the word translated *power* is a well-known surrogate for Yahweh.³⁷

As the *wisdom*, therefore, spoken with the authority of God, Jesus’ message had the effect of at once challenging men in a novel fashion. When they heard Jesus speak, they were moved to decision. For his voice seemed to them to be God’s voice speaking to them and confronting them with the divine sovereignty — with what Jesus himself described as “the kingdom of God come among you”! It was this compelling power in what he said, as well as his exceptional graciousness at which we have been looking, that made a man drop his self-complacency and become

either friend or foe of Jesus. John places upon Jesus' lips at least three sayings which enshrine this phenomenon: "The words that I speak are spirit and life";³⁸ "he that hears my words . . . has eternal life, . . . and has passed out of death into life";³⁹ "and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's who sent me."⁴⁰ Another saying — this time by Peter — is reported by the same Evangelist: "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life."⁴¹ In a paramount degree, one seems justified in saying, the Gospels represent that to have been true of Jesus' preaching which Paul later noted as characteristic of his own — it was to some "a savor from death unto death," to others "a savor from life unto life."⁴²

T. W. Manson has suggested what are to the writer's mind extremely cogent reasons for believing that the parables of Jesus were motivated with the purpose of, and actually succeeded to a remarkable degree in, confronting men with the Word of God *directly*. Moreover, one imagines that what he has said of the parable applies with equal force to the teaching of Jesus as a whole. It made "God and himself real to a man," says Manson, "so real that he is forthwith moved to genuine repentance and faith . . . it is the word of God itself 'quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and of joints and marrow, a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.'"⁴³

It was, we are persuaded, this inner compelling power, an ethicospiritual earnestness and depth, which the commonality of men recognized in Jesus' teaching as unique.⁴⁴ It seemed to set him apart from the rabbis with whose teachings they were familiar. And we have but to ponder over the fragments of his teaching which have come down to us, for they are no more than fragments surely, and to compare these with the best in rabbinic thought as that is

preserved in Mishnah, Baraita, Tosefta, and Talmud, to discover how true the popular judgment really was.

Strack-Billerbeck, Montefiore, Joseph Klausner, R. T. Herford, Israel Abrahams, George Foot Moore, and others have made much of the rabbinic parallels to Jesus' teaching in the last few years. Klausner, for example, writes that "throughout the Gospels there is not one item of ethical teaching which cannot be paralleled either in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, or in the talmudic and midrashic literature of the period near to the time of Jesus." ⁴⁵

This is to a large degree, if not entirely, true. Moreover, our Lord's aphoristic and parabolical style, and even what may be termed perhaps his rabbinic method of exegesis, ⁴⁶ finds its counterpart in the Mishnah and the Talmud time without number! This simply goes to show, of course, that he clothed his message in the dress that appealed to his day and age. He was sensitive to the crowd's psychology and, as a skilled platform technician, he kept his fingers on the pulse of their responsiveness. In this, at least, Branscomb's remark is true: "The work and teaching of Jesus come out of the main stream of Jewish development." ⁴⁷

The discovery of these surprising facts, as Professor P. G. S. Hopwood has recently written, has had a salutary effect upon our approach to a Christian apologetic to be directed toward modern Judaism. It places in our hands "a proper corrective to the former tendency to overthrow Judaism in unfavorable terms when compared with the Christian Faith." ⁴⁸ Those acquainted with the type of thing that has passed far too long for Christian apologetic will understand what Professor Hopwood means. The tendency, not alone with reference to Judaism, but with regard to every non-Christian religion, has been to compare its worst features with the best in Christianity — to the

grave detriment of the former faith, of course! We have learned much along these lines during the past generation — both how to evaluate other religions with a greater degree of fairness, and also that, however brilliant these may be made to appear, there still remains a unique luster attaching to the person and work of Jesus which brooks no comparison. For, as Paul wrote in Eph. 1:20, 21 after the paraphrase of C. H. Dodd: “ ‘ Name all the names of powers you know, and still there is a Power supreme over them! ’ ” ⁴⁹

When all that may be said in favor of the rabbinic religion which we call Judaism, that is, the Hebrew faith as it was held in Jesus' day and for centuries after his time, when this has been said, it still remains true that that religion falls far short of the ethical and spiritual level of the teachings of Jesus. Rabbi Klausner himself admits that “ there is a new thing in the Gospels ” by contrast with the rabbinic writings, namely, that in the former there is a *higher concentration* of “ ethical teachings.” In the rabbis, ethics is to be found, but it is “ interspersed among more commonplace discussions and worthless matter.” ⁵⁰ John Knox, who quotes Klausner, adds that “ this concentration in Jesus ” is “ qualitative ” as well as “ quantitative,” for “ in no other source, Jewish or non-Jewish, do we find religion interpreted so exclusively and so richly in ethical terms.” ⁵¹

One has but to read the Mishnah, for example, with its endless casuistical discussions of matters lying below the level of both religion and ethics, to appreciate these remarks. Montefiore, who as a Liberal Jewish scholar is probably as fair-minded and as frank as anyone working in this field, cannot refrain from writing at times very disparagingly of the rabbis, and in one remarkable passage he laments:

"It was a misfortune that the great intellectual ability of the Rabbis was given no standards and no training outside the narrow walk and outlook of their own houses of study. This want must be one reason why they sometimes seem lacking in capacity to distinguish between the great and the little, between the solemn and the trivial, or why so much of their teaching seems so childish and so absurd. For they had nobody and nothing to keep them from such confusions and degenerations!"⁵²

Such criticism coming from within the fold of the Jewish faith speaks volumes and requires no further comment from us. The rabbis of whom Montefiore writes were the lineal descendants of those of Jesus' day, whom the multitudes had to compare with him and his teachings. Is it any wonder, then, that if the earlier group of rabbis exhibited the same lack of ability to discriminate between "the great and the little," "the solemn and the trivial," the "childish" and the "absurd" as over against the mature and the vital, as the evidence appears to indicate was the fact, the *wisdom* and *authority* of Jesus' teaching should have shone by contrast as brilliant stars?

In addition to this obvious difference in ethical insight between Jesus' teaching and that of the rabbis, there were at least two others of a fundamental sort which ought not to pass without mention. The first of these concerns the respective motivations of their teachings. Contrary to popular opinion on the subject, the purpose of the rabbinical casuistry was, not to make the Law harder to bear, but contrariwise to soften its demands.⁵³ The rabbis earnestly strove to apply the Law to the contemporary situation, and in so doing they perforce relaxed its provisions to accord with the weakness of human nature. The Law, for instance, gave a categorical command that no work should

be performed on the Sabbath Day.⁵⁴ The question, accordingly, that arose in the mind of the pious Jew desiring to obey the Law to the letter was, *What constitutes work?* The rabbi undertook to answer that question in the tractate M. Shabbath, wherein thirty-nine classes of work are indicated, together with the amount under each head that, if done, must be reckoned in the category of work.⁵⁵ And in answering it and a thousand other questions of like nature, he observed as far as possible the criterion, that "the more lenient ruling" was to be preferred in order that the divine Torah might not become a burden to the people.⁵⁶

The same principle was observed in the realm of ethics. There was, for example, the famous rabbinical dispute regarding the matter of divorce. A summary of final opinion on the subject is given in M. Gittin 9:10, which reads:

"The School of Shammai say: A man may not divorce his wife unless he has found unchastity in her. . . . And the School of Hillel say: [He may divorce her] even if she spoiled a dish for him. . . . R. Akiba says: Even if he found another fairer than she."

All these decisions are based on the legal enactment in Deut. 24:1, which reads: "Because he hath found in her indecency in anything." The difference between the two schools was due to the portion of the verse emphasized. That of Shammai stressed the word "indecency," and held in consequence that the only ground for divorce was adultery. That of Hillel based its interpretation on the phrase "in anything," with the result noted. Rabbi Akiba's even greater laxity was based on another clause of the same verse in Deuteronomy: "If she find no favor in his eyes"! Here Hillel gives "the more lenient ruling," Shammai, the

stricter; but both schools, here and elsewhere, constantly made the attempt to accommodate the strict requirements of the Torah to the demands of everyday life.⁵⁷

Jesus, on the contrary, made no accommodations in his ethical teachings. The motivation of those teachings was determined, not by what man can do, but by what God requires of man. Take this same example of divorce.⁵⁸ It was, said Jesus, "for your hardness of heart" that Moses allowed you to divorce your wives. But such permission does not accord with the divine plan for the male and the female, and our Lord quoted Gen. 1:27; 2:24 as of prior validity to the passage from Deuteronomy on which both the rabbinic schools based their respective judgments. Accordingly, Jesus did not allow divorce for any reason whatever! ⁵⁹

So it was in all matters of ethical significance. Professor Knox is, therefore, certainly right when he says of Jesus' attitude: "He made no effort to dilute the righteousness of God. According to Jesus, God demands nothing short of moral perfection. . . . Jesus was not trying to be practical, but to be true. He was not seeking to state what man can do, but what God asks. Just as the eternal God stands over against the temporal world, so for Jesus God's perfect will stands over against man's utmost moral achievement." ⁶⁰

As over against *the principle of accommodation* to which the rabbis subscribed, therefore, it is fair to say that the motivation of Jesus' ethic was found in its entirety in the words, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." ⁶¹

The other fundamental difference between Jesus and the rabbis to which we have referred concerns their respective emphases upon character and conduct. Jesus was far more concerned *about what men were* than about what

they *did*. He taught that if men were really *good*, their actions would be good — would in fact take care of themselves. "The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth that which is evil: for out of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh." ⁶² The rabbis, on the other hand, were interested in conduct primarily. This was the result of two convictions which they entertained: *First*, as Goguel has remarked, the rabbis said, "The will of God is manifested in the commandments. It is this which constitutes the real good." ⁶³ The *doing* of the Law, accordingly, was equated with the fulfillment of God's will, and obviously must be of prime importance. *Again*, goodness and badness, sin and righteousness, were to the rabbis, not primarily moral, but rather religious conceptions. They gained their specific character, not according to what they were in themselves, but in accordance with what they were to the mind of God, with his judgment regarding them. ⁶⁴ That is to say, they were objective rather than subjective concepts. To the rabbi it was a matter of indifference that a specific act indicated the inherent quality of a man's character; *what mattered was how God thought about the act as an act.*

As a consequence, for the rabbis ethics resolved itself into a *system of behavior* with a definite pattern formed by conformity to the Law and its casuistical applications to life. With Jesus, on the contrary, the will of God was fulfilled through a man's acquiring a spirit. "Do this and thou shalt live," said the Torah, and the rabbis accepted the injunction literally and spent their lives in attempting to apply it to life. "Blessed are the poor in spirit," said Jesus, and "the pure in heart," and it is a notable fact that he chose the two passages that enjoin, respectively,

love to God and love to man, that is, inner motivation, as representing the best that the Law had to say.⁶⁵

In one of the finest passages in the Mishnah, the rabbis enjoined their disciples "that a man may first take upon him the yoke of the kingdom of heaven" (that is, realize in consciousness the divine sovereignty over his life), "and afterward take upon him the yoke of the commandments" (that is, fulfill the demands of that sovereignty through obedience to a set of legal enactments).⁶⁶ Jesus, by contrast, using much the same terminology, called men to take up his yoke and to learn of him, finding rest for their souls in that intimate fellowship.⁶⁷ It would almost seem that our Lord had the rabbinical saying in mind here, and that he wished definitely to substitute allegiance to himself for the old allegiance to the Law. Jesus' "yoke" was not to be formulated in a set of commands; rather it consisted in the acquisition of a point of view, a particular set of the soul, the catching of a spirit.⁶⁸ "To take upon oneself the yoke of the Kingdom is to accept the sovereignty of God and to give oneself to His service. And what that means is something to be learnt from Jesus, who is meek and lowly in heart."⁶⁹ This verse has been declared unauthentic by some scholars on what we believe to be insufficient grounds, namely, that it is found in M alone. But even if its wording as it now stands were to be attributed to the later Church, the general tenor of its thought and teaching is without doubt the same as the ethical note that rings throughout Jesus' message as he is everywhere reported in the Gospels.

Because of his vastly superior interest in character, Jesus also laid far greater stress on *motive* than the rabbis did. His ethic, it has been said, was the ethic of "intention," of the inner propulsion of the will resulting in the matching of act with thought, of deed with ideal. Goguel points this

out finely when he writes: "He substituted the ethic of intention and of the will for that of the act, or, in other words, he made morality an inward thing. Thus he has not merely transformed the moral side of life, but religion itself; the religion of the heart, of inner moral purity, replaces a religion of outward conformity to God's demands." ⁷⁰

The Mishnah, to be sure, also at times takes the *intention* into consideration. But this is by no means the dominant note struck by the rabbis in that great work. Moreover, when the intention is mentioned by them, it is merely the intention to fulfill an appointed legal obligation, the doing of a specific commandment of the Torah, that is had in mind! ⁷¹ This corresponds to the *nīyat* of the modern Moslem, the *kawwanat* (כַּוְּנָה; cf. תְּכוּנָה) of the rabbinic writings. Moore gives the definition of this sort of intention in the words of the great Maimonides, especially as it applies to the act of prayer, as follows: "It means that a man should clear out his mind of all thoughts of his own, and regard himself as if he were standing before the Shekinah (in the manifest presence of God). Without this a prayer is no prayer." ⁷²

In fairness to the rabbis, it needs to be observed that they at times rise to the point of teaching that "the law of God and every commandment in it should be kept 'for its own sake,' not for any advantage to be gained by it among men or with God." ⁷³ Perhaps the best statement of this point of view is that of Antigonus of Socho (c. 200 B.C.) quoted in M. Aboth 1:3: "Be not like slaves that minister to the master for the sake of receiving a bounty, but be like slaves that minister to the master not for the sake of receiving a bounty; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you."

Here the matter of *motive* is brought to the fore. But it still is the motive "of outward conformity to God's de-

mands," to which Goguel refers. Perhaps its nearest likeness in the teachings of Jesus is to be found in the parable of the Unprofitable Servants, whose moral is found in the words, "We have done that which it was our duty to do."⁷⁴ This is lofty teaching, but of itself it is not lofty enough, and standing alone it does not begin to touch the heights of Jesus' teaching at its best. For that teaching substitutes *for the motive of outward conformity to a specific command that of the inward compulsion of the will, of the assenting mind and the understanding heart.* Bultmann puts this with great force when, in a passage in which he is insisting on Jesus' stress on the necessity of obedience to the divine will, he writes: "Radical obedience exists only when a man inwardly assents to what is required of him, when the thing commanded is seen as intrinsically God's command; when the whole man stands behind what he does; or better, when the whole man is *in* what he does, when he is not *doing something obediently*, but is *essentially obedient*."⁷⁵ This, insists Bultmann, was Jesus' viewpoint and it was equally *not* that of the rabbis. For Jesus, it may well be said, the motivation was the command of God, just as the "thoughts and intents of the heart" were the divine law, provided always a man's mind and heart and will were atune to the mind and heart and will of God.⁷⁶

Now, to set the present discussion in the larger context of the thesis of this book, it is important to note that in the particulars we have been discussing Jesus is represented by our Gospels as taking his stand squarely with the prophetic element of his people's culture. The points of divergence we have been noting between Jesus' teaching and that of the rabbis are those where "the religion of later Judaism" parted company with "the prophetic preaching!"⁷⁷ Once more it is the prophets and Jesus over against the rabbis

and the Pharisaic tradition. Compare, for example, Jer. 24:7; 31:31-34; 32:40 with Jesus' remarks noted in Matt. 5:48; Luke 6:45; Mark 12:29-31, for identity of stress on character and motivation. Montefiore contrasts Jesus and the rabbis at this point, and we shall hardly do better than to quote his words:

"However fine and noble their [the rabbis'] teaching may have been or was, it cannot properly be called prophetic. They were not called prophets, and they could not properly have been called so. . . . Hillel was ever the servant of the Law, and never its judge. . . . That is why, or that is one 'why,' the production of parallels from the teaching of Hillel with the teaching of Jesus is mostly futile. The spirit is different. The prophetic touch is present in the one case and absent in the other, and it is the prophetic touch which makes the difference." ⁷⁸

Certainly it was something of all this that the common people sensed in Jesus, as constituting an "authority" and a "wisdom" qualitatively different from those of the rabbis. Whose uniqueness, then, is this — that of Jesus or that of the primitive Church?

THE WORK OF JESUS

No one has stated better the marvel of the mutually complementary character of our Lord's teaching and work than Middleton Murry, as he writes:

"Jesus is more than a teacher of an ultimate wisdom. If I thought he was only that, I would not have written a book to show it. Jesus was a teacher who died to save men who would not listen to his teaching. No other teacher has done that. And that sets him above and apart from all other teachers. . . . There have been perhaps others as

wise as Jesus, but none have had his love. Therefore, there have been none so wise. To be wise and love — this is beyond all wisdom.

“ No one can understand Jesus who does not understand his teaching; but no one can understand his teaching who does not understand his life and death. The teaching without the life, the life without the teaching — these are incomprehensible.” ⁷⁹

The English *littérateur* has sensed the proper approach to a consideration of our Lord's marvelous works. Too often they have been looked at in isolation and as a separate subject of study. The result has been misunderstanding and even skepticism. This was because they were being reckoned as having a value in and of themselves. Looked at from this disjunctive standpoint, any value attaching to Jesus' “ mighty works ” as *signs* of what he was and is disappears! The proper approach is, we believe, to examine the works as adjuncts of the teaching, and both as expressions of the unique person of our Lord.

It is matter of common knowledge that Jesus denied any evidential value of his works as objective signs attesting his mission, person, or teaching. At least two (Mrk, Q), and possibly three (Mrk, Q, M, or Mrk, L, M), strands of the Church's tradition testify to this fact.⁸⁰ No sign would be given to that generation, unless a prophetic voice like that of Jonah once again heard in Jesus be considered a sign.⁸¹

One reason for Jesus' refusal to give the sign demanded by his opponents, the Pharisees, lay in the meaning of the word itself.⁸² It appears to have denoted a self-authenticating display of the divine activity. Borchert has brought together a number of such signs from the Old Testament. They include the fire from heaven brought down on Mount

Carmel by Elijah; the closing of the lions' mouths in the pit into which Daniel was thrown; the fourth figure in the fiery furnace; the retracing of the shadow ten steps on the sundial of Ahaz for Hezekiah at the request of Isaiah; and others of like fashion.⁸³

It was a spectacle of this sort — some unmistakable act of endorsement from heaven — that Jesus' enemies had in mind when they asked him for a sign! The prophets of Israel had received the Spirit and with the same some such inviolable proof as above indicated.⁸⁴ There was, therefore, plenty of precedent for the thing which the Pharisees and their followers demanded to see in Jesus' case. When the prophetic spirit was withdrawn from Israel, moreover, God had, according to rabbinic tradition, occasionally spoken from heaven by what came to be called the *Bat Qol*, that is, an "echo" or "mysterious voice." Thus Moore quotes a Tosefta as reading: "When the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, died, the holy spirit ceased out of Israel; but nevertheless it was granted them to hear [communications from God] by means of a *Bat Qol*." ⁸⁵ If a *Bat Qol* would just authenticate Jesus as Messiah — a sign of such a character that all the world might see it and after which, so to speak, *Q.E.D.* might be written — that, said Jesus' foes, would satisfy them!

But Jesus would perform no such sign, nor would he ask for it from heaven. "Such behavior," remarks Borchert, "it seemed to him would be superficial, and would bring no inner conviction. Besides, he knew too well that there is nothing a man clings to more obstinately than his unbelief. He who will not believe cannot be forced to do so by sight (Luke 16:31)." ⁸⁶

But there was, one suspects, an even deeper reason than this why Jesus *could* not perform a sign of the character demanded of him. To have done so would have proved

him to be Messiah of a sort no doubt — but *of the wrong sort*, of the sort that we are attempting to argue he had no intention of being! That is to say, a popular sign would have shown him to be the nationalistic Messiah of popular expectation, not the spiritual and ethical Messiah of the prophetic voice! The reason even the prophets had to perform miracles as signs was, to quote Borchert again, because “their own imperfections bore no impress of their divine message.”⁸⁷ But no such imperfection was present in the person of Jesus. *Jesus’ person was his authentication*, as they who had eyes that could see were able to discern.⁸⁸ Doubtless there was lack enough in the humble and sorry spectacle he made, viewed from the popular conception of what the Messiah ought to be like. But he had not come to fulfill that popular conception. He would perform no “stunts,” therefore, nor ask heaven for any sign to authenticate him as that type of Messiah which he had no intention of being!

Jesus’ marvelous works, then, were not signs of the sort we have been considering. *But in a far deeper sense they were signs*, namely, in the sense referred to by Middleton Murry just quoted, as adjuncts of his teaching, as a part of a tripartite unity composed of the person, the teaching, and the activity of Jesus. No one who failed to grasp the depth of our Lord’s teaching ever considered his works as signs.⁸⁹ Understanding of the teaching and recognition of the wonderful deeds as signs went hand in hand, as indeed they do to this day. It is in line with this thought that the author of the Fourth Gospel makes Jesus say to the unbelieving crowds, “Ye seek me, not because ye saw signs, but because ye ate of the loaves, and were filled.”⁹⁰ The feeding of the multitudes was no sign to those who lacked the spiritual and ethical insight to grasp Jesus’ teaching and purpose.⁹¹

The point is that both word and work were integral to Jesus' mission and purpose as a whole. The one was not and is not to be understood really without the other. Here, therefore, one must dissent vigorously from Goguel as he writes: "Even if he did do works which made the impression of the marvelous, he did not consider them essential. They were not at the centre of his work, but on the circumference, and even on the fringe!"⁶² No greater misunderstanding of the nature of Jesus' miracles than this could well be imagined. Quite the contrary, Jesus' "mighty works" either were thoroughly integrated with his teaching and preaching, indeed, with his life's mission and activity as a whole, or else to his mind they ceased to serve any useful function. Word and work for him made up his creative ministry, and without either the ministry would not have been.

The well-known passage from Q in which our Lord responds to the inquiry of the disciples of John the Baptist is conclusive on this point.⁶³ His reply takes the form of a virtual quotation of Isa. 35:5, 6; 61:1, and it serves to define his task as consisting of evangelism and philanthropic service. The point of the reply is that John is to correct his conception of the Messiah as primarily a judge of men, and to think of his activity as a *saving* one in terms of the description of the Suffering Servant. Our Lord is at pains to indicate that this involves both the uttering of the divine word and the doing of the God-appointed deed. (Incidentally, it is significant that our Lord defines the work of his disciples in the same twofold manner, as a sort of extension of the incarnate task of the Messiah.⁶⁴)

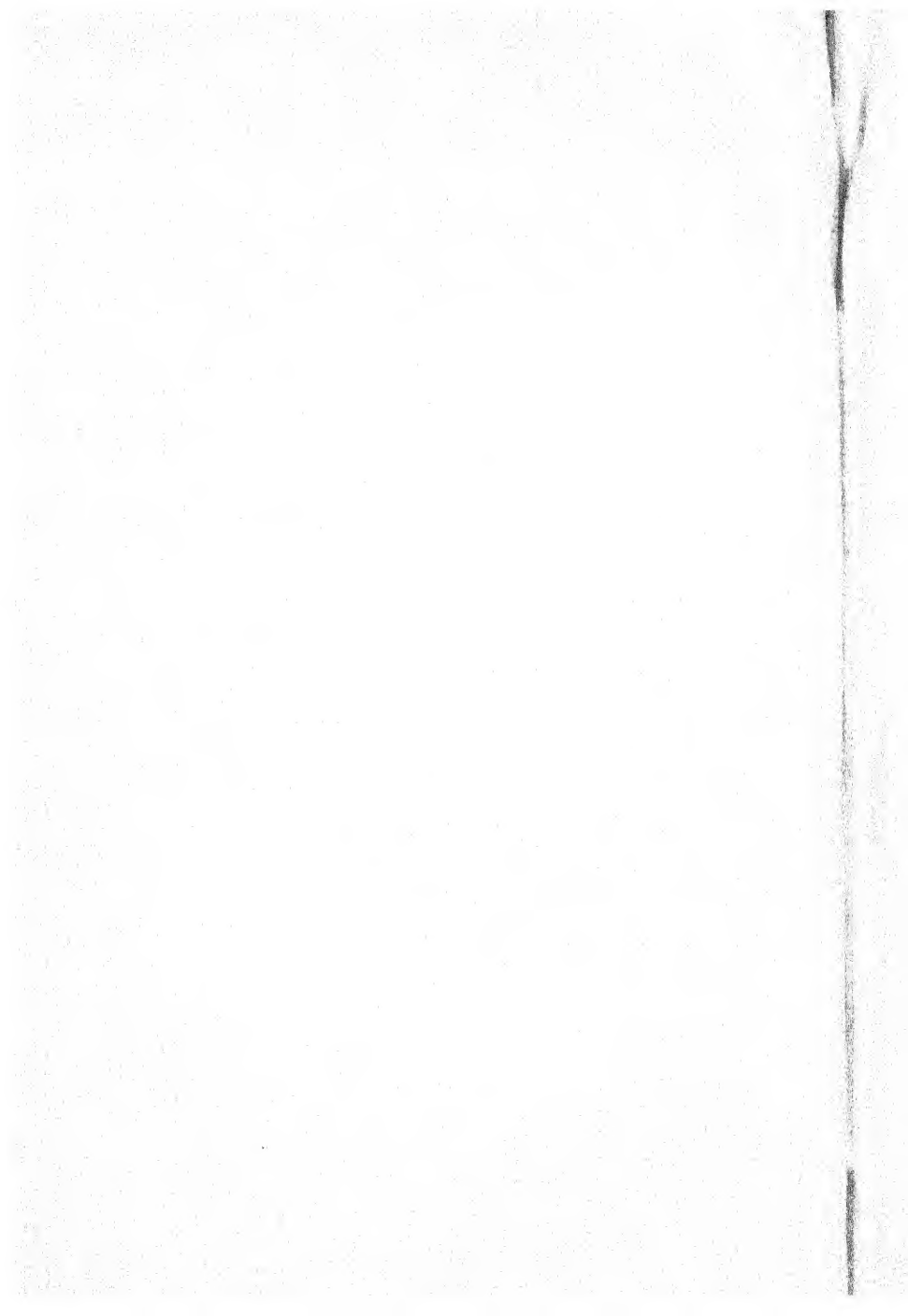
Moreover, the evidence appears to support the thesis that *both word and work were intended in Jesus' view to serve precisely the same function in his ministry*. We have already noted that Jesus' teaching, as the "wisdom" and

"authority" of the divine Spirit, constituted a direct challenge of God's Kingdom or sovereignty to the mind and will of those who were addressed. Similarly, our Lord's "mighty works" were a direct challenge of the same Kingdom come among men — but now in the field of *action*. This is the intent of Jesus' saying in Q, for example, when the nature of the power within him which wrought "mighty works" was called "Satanic" by his enemies. His reply was, "But if I by the finger of God cast out demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you."⁹⁵ The work, like the word, was the direct activity of God on the plane of History. Thus, in the realms of both teaching and activity men were confronted and challenged with the actuality of God's Reign in their midst. In making that challenge the two, word and work, supplemented each other, and without the other each would have remained "incomprehensible." Viewed in this light, it is not too much to say that the parable became a spoken miracle, the miracle an acted parable!

Martin Dibelius chooses the same two passages that we have just cited (Matt. 11:2-6//Luke 7:18-23 and Luke 11:20//Matt. 12:28 — both from Q) as showing "that for Jesus himself his healings were signs of the coming Kingdom of God. And so likewise were they for those who told these stories. They were proofs of the victory of the Messiah over the evil in the world."⁹⁶ In the light of these remarks, the question so often asked, Why did Jesus perform miracles? may receive surely an unequivocal reply. He performed them to heal people, to do them good, to save their bodies, just as he preached the Gospel to them in order to save their souls. That is to say, both word and work had redemptive and Messianic significance. The Kingdom of God as it came among men in Jesus was above everything else a saving force; it was calculated to save

men at every level of life — the physical, the intellectual, the moral, the spiritual. And because Jesus was the mediator of that Reign of God in human experience, he saved men at all these levels. Or such was at all events his untiring endeavor, as by word and work he challenged them to respond to the presence of the Kingdom of God in their midst.

It is beyond question, *first*, that this high integration of teaching and activity exhibited a startlingly unique sort of awareness of "mission" on Jesus' part — of mission with a redemptive significance through and through; and, since he related it himself to the coming Kingdom of God, certainly the most natural conclusion would be that for him it was messianic in character. *Secondly*, in asserting this integration, there was an equal awareness on Jesus' part of continuity with the prophetic heritage of Israel, for he defined the two sides of the mission in which he was engaged in terms that he found in Isa. 61:1-3.⁹⁷ Such is the testimony of the Gospel records. Once more, therefore, the question forces itself upon us: Was this originality and this continuity, to which such marvelous integration bears witness, that of the individual (Jesus), or of the community (the primitive Church)?



*The Lord's Self-Characterization—
The "Son of Man"*

"Now, at the end of this valley was another, called the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and Christian must needs go through it, because the way to the Celestial City lay through the midst of it."

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

SYNOPSIS

*T*HERE appear to be but two alternatives: either (a) Jesus did not think of himself in Messianic terms, or else (b) his conception of the Messiahship differed from that of all contemporary thought; it went back, that is to say, to the highest thought of the prophets.

That the latter alternative is probably the true one appears from a study of Jesus' use of the term "Son of Man" and his application of it to himself. First, the use and meaning of this term in pre-Christian Jewish circles is studied, and its Messianic signification in Jesus' day is noted. Secondly, by a critical examination of all the relevant passages in the Gospels, it is shown that Jesus actually used the term. Thirdly, the meaning of the phrase on Jesus' lips is discussed.

Jesus' originality appears in the fact that for the first time in Jewish circles he attached to this phrase the motif of humiliation, of suffering, of the cross. This humiliation aspect, it is seen, was derived by Jesus from the concept of the "Suffering Servant," detached from that concept, and applied to that of the "Son of Man."

Jesus' humiliation as the "Son of Man" is shown to be symbolized in two events of Passion Week — the so-called "Triumphal Entry" and the Crucifixion.

IV

THERE is a famous saying of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, whose date is the first half of the third century A.D. and to whom Moore refers as "one of the most highly esteemed masters of the Haggadah," that "if they [Israel] are worthy," then the Messiah will come to them "'with the clouds of heaven'" (as in Dan. 7:13), but "if they are not worthy," he will come as one who is "'lowly, riding upon an ass'" (as in Zech. 9:9).¹

By Israel's being *worthy* is meant if Israel "keeps only a single Sabbath as it is prescribed," or as some rabbis said, two such Sabbaths. Elsewhere the observation is made that the Messiah will not come at all unless Israel keeps all the commandments!²

Actually our Lord approached the Holy City as "lowly, riding upon an ass," in accordance with the Zechariah passage.³ By coming in this humble guise, on the testimony of the Church in its Gospel records, he once more exhibited both originality and continuity with the pro-

phetic tradition. For, of the various ways in which the Messiah was conceived by contemporary Judaism, or by pre-Christian Jewish thought of any sort with the single exception of Zechariah, none represented him in this meek role!

The *Zealots*, the nationalist party within the Jewish cultural ethos, thought of him, according to Josephus, as a political figure to be exalted to the kingship by his party followers.⁴ This picture, as we have seen, differed in no essential respect from the prevalent Pharisaic view. The Pharisees took issue with the Zealots only in holding that God, and not man, would exalt the Messiah to his rightful place of authority.⁵ They refused as a consequence to become a party to any sort of political intrigue centering in a Messianic pretender. Rabbi Akiba in the time of the fanatical Bar-kokhba (A.D. 135), forsook this worthy Pharisaic view to his great undoing.⁶ The apocalyptists looked for a Messiah who, in the terms of Daniel and the Similitudes of Enoch, would come on the clouds of heaven, a supramundane figure whose identity would prove unmistakable.

Our Lord's originality is nowhere more clearly seen than in the way that he flatly rejected all these conceptions of the Messiah. So far is this true that, as we have already seen, it has been seriously proposed that he had no Messianic consciousness whatever. And it may be said now, without reservation, that either: (a) Jesus did not conceive himself to be the Messiah at all, or (b) if he did, then his conception of the Messiahship was radically different from every other held in his time! It went back, that is to say, to the old prophetic conceptions of the Messiah of the Remnant and the Suffering Servant of the Lord.

In approaching the problem raised by the nature of this

crux, we have first to consider the term Jesus is reported to have used to describe himself. For surely if it can be demonstrated that he did use it, and something of its meaning for him can be discovered, we shall have come a long way toward apprehending the nature of his self-awareness.

And this after all is the point at issue: *Whom did Jesus know himself to be?* It is interesting to know what Mark or Luke or Peter or Paul thought about Jesus. Origen's and Augustine's views of the nature of his person are almost equally challenging, as are also those of Calvin and Luther. But they are not after all very important — not, at all events, by comparison with the supreme question of Jesus' own consciousness regarding himself! For obviously, if it could be shown that Jesus failed to agree with those above mentioned on this vital topic, then his view in our judgment would quite outweigh all of theirs combined. *The Church cannot indefinitely continue to believe about Jesus what he did not know to be true about himself!* The question, accordingly, of his Messianic consciousness is the most vital one the Christian faith has to face. And so we proceed to examine in this chapter the term "Son of Man" which the Church's Gospels place on Jesus' lips, and through which on their testimony he gave expression to his self-awareness.

THE USE AND MEANING OF THE TERM "SON OF MAN" IN PRE-CHRISTIAN JEWISH CIRCLES

The term "Son of Man" was used by writers in Jewish circles long before Jesus' day. Ezekiel had been addressed by God as "son of man" in his vision and call, the term being used as an appellative to describe the future prophet.⁷ Besides, there exist a limited number of instances, both in the Old Testament itself and in the Apocrypha, where the

phrase represents poetic parallelism to the generic term "man." A well-known example of this use is found in Ps. 8:4, which reads:

"What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?"⁸

Daniel, too, in the most famous of all the passages extant, had written of "one like unto a son of man," who in his vision "came even to the ancient of days" and received from him "dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him."⁹ Finally, the term was frequently used in the so-called Similitudes of Enoch (first century B.C.), chs. 35 to 71 inclusive, and in II (or IV) Esdras (A.D. 81-96), both of which books depend upon the Danielic vision and present the "Son of Man," who now is clearly to be identified with the Messiah, as, respectively, coming on the clouds of heaven and rising out of the sea!¹⁰

It is no part of our purpose to go over the *proofs* for the resultant meanings of this expression in the Old Testament and apocryphal and apocalyptic texts. The field has been abundantly explored and in our judgment it is now possible to write down in categorical fashion the certain *results* of the expert research that has led to final demonstration here.

Two Fundamentally Different Constructions Involved

Two fundamentally different constructions are involved in the phrase "Son of Man." It may now be taken as finally proved by Dalman, as against the contentions of Wellhausen, H. J. Holtzmann, Lietzmann, and others, that in both the Aramaic and Hebrew *two* constructions of the expression occur in the passages to which reference has been made, and that, moreover, these differing construc-

tions have distinct meanings, the one from the other.¹¹ In the Aramaic these two constructions read, respectively, *bar nāsh* or *bar 'enosh* (בַּר נָשׁ; בַּר אֱנוֹשׁ), and *bar nāshā* or *bar 'enāshā* (בַּר נְשָׂא; בַּר אֱנָשָׂא), the difference being that in the first group the second noun of the phrase is without the article; in the second group it is accompanied by the article. In the first case, i.e., when the second noun of the combination is anarthrous, the term is *generic* and means as a whole simply *a man*, or *man as such*. In the second case cited, on the contrary, the presence of the article with the second noun renders the phrase a *title* and it may be translated, either as Dalman does "*the Son of Man*," or with T. W. Manson, "*the Man*" in a special sense to be determined by the context.¹²

Technical Meaning of the Second Construction

The first of the two Aramaic expressions above listed and its Hebrew equivalent, *ben ādām* (בֶּן אָדָם), is of no concern to us here except in one case presently to be cited. These anarthrous constructions occur in The Psalms and Ezekiel, as above indicated. That they simply mean "man" or "a son of man" is beyond dispute. The second construction, however, because of its titular sense, is of vast importance to our study. Originally, even it may have been used merely to particularize a given individual as "*the man*" to whom reference was being made. But as Gunkel, followed by both Goguel and Manson, has observed, from this particularizing effect of the article attached to the second noun in the phrase, a technical meaning for the same might very easily emerge, and "*the man*" thus would become "*the Man*."¹³ The same is known to have happened in eschatological circles in connection with the word "day," which from being "*the day*" of reference, became "*the Day*" par excellence (i.e., the Day of Judg-

ment).¹⁴ Whether, therefore, one translates the second phrase by "the Man" or "the Son of Man" is immaterial, for both mean the same in the end, and refer to a particular individual known in all eschatological circles.

Before leaving this particular phase of the subject, it is pertinent to note that in Dan. 7:13, 14 the term "son of man" is anarthrous, and that accordingly it does not refer to any particular individual in the titular sense. But, as the context of the passage indicates (vs. 18-22), the phrase is intended to include a reference to "the saints of the Most High" as a body. That is to say, in Daniel, in the anarthrous form it acquires *a sort of specialized (corporate) sense which it has nowhere else in pre-Christian literature!* This raises the interesting question whether Manson's suggestion may be correct, that Jesus took over this *corporate* sense from Daniel and so used the phrase on occasion.¹⁵ The suggestion is surely a novel one. Yet, it is by no means easy to see how a line, *if any were contemplated*, could be drawn between passages where he used the phrase of himself as an individual, and passages where he used it of the community as a whole. It has this in its favor, however, that the corporate sense is undoubtedly intended in Daniel. We shall return to the suggestion in Chapter VI where it has a peculiar relevance.

Distinction Between the Two Constructions in the Greek of Our Gospels

Finally, it is to be noted that by the time the Synoptic Gospels came to be written, the distinction between the two constructions (dependent upon the presence or absence of the article with the second noun of the expression) had so well established itself that the Gospel writers unhesitatingly transferred the distinction to the Greek. *Bar nāsh*, accordingly, became *anthropos* (ἄνθρωπος) or *ho*

anthropos (ὁ ἄνθρωπος), while *bar nāshā* was translated by *ho hyios tou anthropou* (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). In Mark 2:27, 28, an instance of both usages occurs, and we may read: "And he said unto them, The sabbath was made for *man* [*bar nāsh*], and not *man* (*bar nāsh*) for the sabbath: so that the *Son of Man* (*bar nāshā*) is lord even of the sabbath."¹⁶ That is to say, wherever generally in our canonical Gospels we read "the Son of Man," it is to be presumed that the author or his source read in the Aramaic *bar nāshā* and so understood the expression to be used in the sense of a title.¹⁷

From all this evidence it seems fair to conclude with George Foot Moore, Rudolf Otto, Dalman, Goguel, and T. W. Manson that *the Messianic interpretation of the phrase "Son of Man" was a pre-Christian discovery*. It could, as we have seen, be used without any Messianic connotation whatever, and then again, with a slight change of the construction, it was made to do service as a title of the expected Messiah. We shall, therefore, assume as a basis for our discussion of the meaning of the expression on Jesus' lips the essential truth of Goguel's conclusion that "the term 'Son of Man' was in use before the time of Jesus, and it was then already definitely Messianic in meaning."¹⁸

DID JESUS USE THE EXPRESSION "SON OF MAN"?

It is necessary at this point to raise the question whether Jesus at any time actually used the phrase "Son of Man" with reference to himself. For, as research has gone forward on the subject, some have come to an entirely negative conclusion regarding it. A good résumé of the history of opinion will be found by the student in Montefiore's *Synoptic Gospels*, Volume I, pages 69-80. With a view to indicating the nature of the problem, we shall here present

it in its most recent form as elaborated by Frederick C. Grant in his *Gospel of the Kingdom*.

The author has chosen Dr. Grant's statement of the case against Jesus' use of the term "Son of Man" for criticism for the reasons: (1) that it represents perhaps the most thoroughgoing critical analysis of the data to arrive at a wholly negative conclusion thus far made by any New Testament scholar; (2) that we share wholeheartedly with him the conviction that Jesus' intellectual and ethical and spiritual home was in the prophetic element of the Hebrew culture — one naturally feels the more keenly a difference in detail from the position of another, when one's general sympathies lie in the direction of that other's point of view; and (3) that we have the greatest admiration for Professor Grant's profound grasp of the critical problems involved — one can well afford to differ from the position of a teacher from whom one has learned much.

It will be recalled that Professor Grant's thesis is that Jesus never made any claims for himself, either to Messiahship or of any sort.¹⁹ Jesus was, according to Grant, simply what he was: he was unique in the high reach of his moral character, and he permitted that uniqueness on all occasions to speak for itself.

It may be worth while perhaps to state that with the *positive* aspect of this view we have no quarrel. In point of fact, it will be our own in the next chapter. The only question we raise with regard to Professor Grant's thesis, therefore, concerns its *negation* of all indications on Jesus' part as to whom he knew himself to be. And we feel impelled to do so for the reason indicated at the beginning of this chapter, namely, that *Jesus' self-awareness is the only evidence on the subject that to our mind has any sort of final validity*.

Admittedly, as Professor John Knox has written, Jesus

could have known who and what he was and yet have refrained from saying. Even so, however, we should still wish to attempt to discover some indication — a nod perhaps, a glance of the eye, a casual word unwittingly let fall from his lips, a spontaneous and revealing action, anything indeed — that would help to an understanding of what his judgment in the matter was. We should wish to do this because of its paramount importance to *our* understanding who and what he was *and is!* But if, on the other hand, he did respond to the request that he *tell plainly* who he was, that will be even more helpful. Hence, our interest in Professor Grant's position.

In support of his position Dr. Grant's major argument derives from the multiplicity of Christologies to be found in the Gospel tradition. If Jesus knew himself to be the Messiah, the "Son of Man," the "Suffering Servant," why is it that we find such a variety of interpretations of his Person in the Gospels — prophet, lawgiver, healer, teacher, Son of God, and what not? "The variety in the Christology of even the most primitive tradition," he says, "makes it unlikely that one type and one alone goes back to Jesus: the inference must be that these were varieties in the primitive interpretation."²⁰ All are to be explained as the product of the impression which Jesus' *uniqueness* produced upon his disciples.²¹ That uniqueness "convinced them that he was none other than the Agent of God in the establishment of His Kingdom." And in turn the faith thus aroused prepared them for the "resurrection experiences" and "made inevitable their interpretation of those experiences as proofs of Jesus' exaltation to heavenly Messiahship."²²

The logical sequence appears to run about as follows: uniqueness, faith, resurrection experiences, Messiahship. This is a type of reasoning to which we have become ac-

customed through the work of Johannes Weiss, who wrote relative to the disciples' resurrection faith:

" Their conviction takes on the quality of genuine confidence, and carries with it a personal significance, only when the appearance of the glorified Lord comes as the final confirmation and *reward of a faith already victorious over despair*, one which has faced doubt and won through in spite of all that stood opposed to it. . . . *To this extent the appearances were not the basis of their faith, though so it seemed to them, so much as its product and result* " ²³ [italics ours].

There is an element of genuine and very essential truth here. We have already had occasion to advert to it in connection with the " heavenly voice " which our Lord heard at his baptism, when we remarked that the " voices " of Scripture are *heard* only by those morally and spiritually ready to hear them! ²⁴ It is the spiritual principle involved in our Lord's saying, " For he that hath, to him shall be given." ²⁵ Jesus performed his " mighty works " only in response to faith, and those who possessed it were able, it would seem, almost against his will — or at any rate, without his knowledge — to draw forth " power " from him! ²⁶ It is, therefore, by no means strange that the resurrection appearances came only to *the Church* — to faith, to disciples, to Christians. Such, at any rate, was *the fact* as attested by all our sources, and *its explanation*, one can scarcely doubt, is to be found in the principle just mentioned. Matthew's special source (M), indeed, contains a clear hint that not even all within the Church had the necessary faith to apprehend the resurrection experience: " And when they saw him, they worshipped him; but some doubted." ²⁷

This, then, is part of the truth. But it is only *a part* of it.

It is far too easy to slip imperceptibly from this way of reasoning into the position referred to already (Chapter I), that *the experience is but the product of the mental state* and, therefore, thoroughly subjective. It is true it is *only to him "that hath,"* that it "shall be given." But it needs to be remembered that it is equally true that to him "that hath," *it shall, indeed, "be given"!* Experience comes only to faith — true. It is equally certain that to faith *experience comes!*

It is at this point — the point of experience, of objective historical record — that the Gospel data become relevant. They march up to our logical sequence, so to speak, and after the word "faith" they enter a wedge. And they testify: "You are quite right when you say that it was Jesus' uniqueness which produced the faith of the disciples in him. But that faith had its reward, and it did not have to await the resurrection to experience it. For the reward was deeper insight, further instruction, clearer revelation, more intimate understanding of the Master and his intention." T. W. Manson has shown reason to believe (a) that, with one or two exceptions, all Jesus' references to his being the "Son of Man" were *made to his intimate disciples in private*, and (b) that these occurred exclusively *after the confession of faith at Caesarea Philippi!*²⁸ The conclusion is drawn only after the most careful research is made. Here, then, is a *datum* taken from the record with which we must reckon. It will not do to argue, as Professor Grant does, that "the perfectly sane, balanced, clear-seeing and profoundly religious mind" of Jesus could not conceive himself to be the "Son of Man."²⁹ That must remain a question of the evidence, and we shall do well to ask simply, *What are the facts?* and to attempt somehow to make the best of them when found.

The facts as they relate to the variety of Christologies in

the Gospel sources, to which reference has been made, Professor Grant finds to be as follows: "In the 'Old Stories' in Mark," Jesus is simply "a healer and teacher"; "in another stratum" of the same Gospel, "he is the Jewish Messiah in an almost purely nationalistic sense"; "in still another stratum of Mark and in parts of Q, he is the future celestial 'Son of Man'"; "Mark's own Christology is of the 'Son of God' type." Again, in L, "Jesus is a prophet," and in M, "he is a teacher and controversialist, a lawgiver, even a second Moses."³⁰

With much in this statement, the present writer is in wholehearted agreement. We shall attempt to indicate presently how far it appears to us to represent a proper judgment. But it fails adequately to present the whole body of facts relevant to the case. For example, it contains not a word by way of answer to questions like these: Who was it in these sources that was represented as thinking of Jesus, respectively, as prophet, as teacher, as Messiah, and what not? Did the same persons think of him at once as several or all of these together? Is there any discernible advance in the thought of some minds regarding Jesus' person? Further, is there any way by which to discover how far these terms answer to Jesus' own thought about himself?

As the result of exhaustive study of the Gospel tradition on the part of New Testament students, it is possible to arrive at an approximate answer to these questions. Professor Grant himself in an earlier work, *The Growth of the Gospels* (1933), has provided us with a splendid example of the type of analysis of the tradition to which we have reference. Making use of his analysis of the sources of the Gospels (Mrk, Q, M, L, Jn), we have made a study of all the relevant passages which the student will find conveniently collected in Appendix B. We propose, now, to pre-

TABLES SHOWING HOW JESUS WAS REGARDED IN HIS DAY

Table I The Authors				Table II The Crowd				Table III Jesus' Enemies			
Title	Mrk	Q	M	Mrk	Q	M	Jn	Mrk	Q	M	Jn
Prophet	3		3		2	2	1 4	(1)			
Healer	7	2	7		3	1	1 1	1	1		1
Teacher	11	1	4		4	1	1 2	3	1	3	2
							{ed 7}				{pn b 1}
Son of God	1?		1	src d 1	3			(4)		(1)	(1)
Messiah			4	src 3	2			(7)		(2)	(L ^{2e} 1) (4)
Son of Man						5	ed 1 3				

Table IV The Disciples				Table V Jesus Himself			
Title	Mrk	Q	M	Mrk	Q	M	Jn
Prophet							
Healer				2	3		1 1
Teacher	7	1	1	3		1	1 1
							ed 1 3
Son of God			2				
Messiah	1			3		2	L ² 1
Son of Man				11	7	3	{ed 1} 7

(Notes: a "ed" stands for the editor of Luke's Gospel in Professor Grant's nomenclature. b "pn" similarly is the Passion and Resurrection narratives. c "L²" is a "cognate source" to "L." d "src" stands for the unknown source of Luke I and II. Parentheses about a figure indicate that the passage(s) in question contain(s) the term in the mouth of the attesting witness, but that he utters it with scorn or at any rate with no intention thereby of affirming his conviction. The line across the page separates the lower and higher types of Christology from each other.)

sent this material in tabular form, indicating in each case simply the number of times a given term or expression occurs, the count being made from the lists in the Appendix.

In the five accompanying tables, we note the terms used, respectively, by *The Authors* (of the *sources* cited, not of the Gospels), *The Crowd*, *Jesus' Enemies*, *The Disciples*, and *Jesus Himself*, to describe their thought of him and his work.³¹ The *sources* are the five above indicated, and the terms chosen to describe our Lord are generally those to which Professor Grant makes reference as above, i.e., prophet, healer, teacher, "Son of God," "Messiah," "Son of Man."

It requires no argument to prove that this method has its limitations. To begin with, the choice of terms to demonstrate belief of a particular type is capable of modification within rather narrow limits. We have chosen three ("prophet," "prophesy," "preach"), to discover how far Jesus was recognized as a prophet by the various groups. We might have limited ourselves to the first two of these terms. Again, it is possible, and even probable, that in some cases the *idea* is present where the particular *term* chosen is lacking. This no doubt is true of the belief in Jesus as healer especially, as not all the miracle stories end with a statement, in just so many words, of the healing of the individual treated.³² No claim is made, accordingly, for the absolute accuracy of the results herewith achieved, though we believe the general *tendency* they depict to be a reasonably true one.

Before examining these data, it is important that two criteria of literary criticism be placed before the reader. The first is one suggested by Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, and may be stated thus: *Where the testimony of several sources is found to converge on a single affirmation, we may be reasonably assured of the accuracy of the result obtained, or, as Sir*

Edwyn has said, "it must be concluded that the critic is obtaining a more or less clear historical insight into the actual teaching and actions of Jesus of Nazareth."³⁸ Rather it has often been assumed, unfortunately, that the collective testimony of the witnesses adduced by the sources or the Evangelists is, not that of the witnesses, but that of the sources or the Evangelists themselves! What we wish to point out is that, whereas this might presumably be the case where the testimony of but one source is available, it is less likely to be so where we possess the convergent witness of several sources.

The second criterion which we propose is that, *generally speaking, the further the opinion or testimony of a witness adduced by one of our sources is found to diverge from the known position of the author of the source concerned, the more credence, we may well believe, is to be placed in the authenticity of such testimony.* It is not intended that either of these criteria shall be allowed to obstruct or displace the generally accepted one — that *literary sources require to be evaluated, as well as counted.* New Testament scholars have made an evaluation of the sources of our Gospels which has to be assumed as the basis of critical work of the nature here attempted. That assumption is made throughout this book. The author may be permitted, however, to record his personal conviction that studies of the type herein undertaken will serve eventually to rehabilitate the reputation of M as a supplementary source at those points where other materials available afford evidence that Jesus taught and acted in the ways testified by M. It must be acknowledged that no finality attaches to our judgments regarding the results of such a study as we are here making. The criteria here proposed, as well as all others to which students of such literary phenomena adhere, are, after all is said, fallible instruments of the falli-

ble reason of man. The best that we can hope for is the establishment of a fair probability one way or another, the degree of the same attained being dependent upon the strength of the evidence adduced.

Table I, then, exhibits the authors' own witness to Jesus. The material under this head is taken from the *residual narrative* left after the evidence for the four following groups and their views is eliminated. That the authors of our Gospels and their immediate sources thought of Jesus unanimously as one who healed disease calls for no comment. Mrk and M lay greater stress on this side of his activity, as is well known, but the fact of his healing powers is a common datum in all the sources. It also goes without saying that the authors of our sources thought of Jesus as a great teacher, though they never speak of him as such. That is to say, they never use such a term as *Rabbi Jesus* in the narrative, as is the case with the teachers of Jewry in the rabbinical literature. But there is unanimity on his having a *didache*, or body of truth, which he taught, and he is constantly represented as gathering a crowd wherever he could and teaching them, as well as giving more intimate instruction to his disciples. The evidence that the authors of the sources thought of Jesus as a prophet is less impressive. As Q is almost, if not altogether, lacking in narrative this source has very little evidence for us either here or in the following tables. Q is actually made up of a great collection of Jesus' teachings; so it is obvious that its compiler considered Jesus a teacher at the very least.

By the time our Gospels appeared a Son of God, Messiah Christology was definitely in existence. There is, one imagines, general agreement on this point. The restraint of the Evangelists is, therefore, the more impressive in permitting the narrative sections of their sources to pro-

ceed with so little stress upon this item! The emphasis which M places upon it is just what we should expect from the otherwise Jewish character of this source. The one instance in Mark is at ch. 1:1, which reads: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The last phrase here, "the Son of God," is almost certainly a Western addition to the text, as the apparatus in S. C. E. Legg's new addition of Mark bears evidence. The Greek of neither Irenaeus nor Origen had it, but it was added in the Latin translation of the former and appears in the Old Latin, whence it entered the Latin Vulgate. It is also found in some of our best uncials, as BDLW, but absent from Aleph (Codex Sinaiticus), Theta, and a number of the better cursives and early versions and Fathers. It is far more likely that a pious scribe added it than that it should have been dropped if present in the original autograph. Accordingly, all modern editors omit the phrase. This includes the Greek texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, von Soden (who places it in brackets), and also, of course, of S. C. E. Legg, who simply repeats the text of Hort. If, then, Mark held to a Son-of-God Christology, he was careful not to allow it to obtrude itself into his narrative.

Table II shows that, with the exception of Mark, the sources of the Synoptic Gospels have little to tell us regarding the views of the *crowd* on the subject of Jesus' person and mission. Once again, such evidence as there is points to a general belief in Jesus' healing powers and his ability as a teacher. But Mrk (Mark 6:15; 8:28), M (Matt. 21:11, 46), L (Luke 7:16), and Jn (John 4:19; 6:14; 7:40; 9:17) all vouch for the crowd's placing him in the category of "prophet"! In view of the nature of Jesus' word and work as outlined in the last chapter, this impression produced

upon the Jewish multitudes is surely not surprising, and the unanimity of the testimony here comes about as near to proving a case as the circumstances will allow.

The crowd's Christology ends at this point. The single use of the phrase "Son of God" in Mark is at ch. 15:39, in the mouth of the centurion. The meaning in the Greek here is by no means as definite as in the English; Torrey's³⁴ "a divine being," or Canon Wade's³⁵ "of Divine descent," would probably answer to the thought in the mind of the Roman, or perhaps best of all Luke's, "Certainly this was a righteous man."³⁶ Mark also records in one passage only the application to Jesus of the title "Son of David." This was a recognized Messianic title from the time of the writing of the Psalms of Solomon (middle first century B.C.),³⁷ and was certainly used by Bartimaeus in the Messianic sense.³⁸ Moore refers to its constant use in this sense by the Taanite Rabbis of the first and second centuries A.D. The incident is evidently meant by Mark as an exceptional one; it does not represent the belief of the crowd generally and might very well have been included in Table IV perhaps. Jesus' response to the man's plea indicates his awareness that Bartimaeus was no common beggar and he remarks, "Thy faith hath saved thee." Mark adds that the man "followed" Jesus "in the way." Possibly he had already long been a secret believer; the abrupt way the story is introduced might be taken to indicate as much. He was simply told that "Jesus the Nazarene" was coming by, when he began to cry out, "Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me." He must have previously made up his mind about Jesus and was awaiting his opportunity to express his faith openly.

Matthew records the use of the same phrase ("Son of David") on four different occasions, but no one of these is certainly trustworthy. In ch. 9:27 occurs what scholars gen-

erally consider a "doublet" of the Bartimaeus incident just discussed. The Marcan context at a much later date would give more time for the formation of a judgment such as the title suggests. The second occasion in ch. 12:23 is from Q. The Lucan parallel is at ch. 11:14, but Luke does not have the phrase. It was, therefore, inserted by Matthew in all probability. In chs. 15:22 and 21:9, 15 occur similar obtrusions by Matthew of the title into Marcan passages! Here too it has no place and is assuredly not original. None of these Matthaean instances, therefore, commends itself as being reliable evidence of the crowd's view of Jesus' person.

In M the Magi ask for the "King of the Jews," and Herod, interpreting that to mean the Messiah, asks the religious leaders where he was to have been born (Matt. 2:2, 4). That incident is not allowed by the Evangelist to color his interpretation of the multitudes' later view of Jesus' person. The one use of the term "King" on the part of the crowd in Luke is at ch. 19:38. This represents a change from Mark 11:9, and probably Grant is right in attributing the same, not to L, but to the Evangelist himself. In any case, as Luke paints the scene, the multitude here are all "disciples" (see v. 37); so that if the passage is to be pressed, it should be included in Table IV perhaps rather than here. It is notable, too, that the crowd's Christology in John is generally no higher than in the Synoptics. He has at ch. 12:13 the phrase, "The King of Israel," in the same context as that above discussed from Luke. Otherwise he places a "Jewish Messiah" type of Christology on the lips of other than disciples only at ch. 4:25, 29 (the Samaritans), and at ch. 7:26-42, where the crowds debate whether Jesus is known by the religious leaders to be in truth the Messiah.

Regarding Table III, little needs to be said. We have al-

ready noticed in Chapter III that our sources testify to Jesus' being called "Teacher" or "Rabbi" even by his *enemies*. In L alone does any one of these ever acknowledge his healing powers in so many words. Here this is done by the "ruler" of the synagogue at Luke 13:14. However, Mrk (Mark 3:22), Q (Luke 11:15), and Jn (John 11:47) testify to the acknowledgment in general terms on the part of his enemies that he performed miracles or "signs." They only questioned the source of his powers, ascribing it themselves to his being in league with the underworld — a claim much like that of the Talmud, which in later years credited his "mighty works" to "sorcery."³⁹

The remaining evidence in this table is all of a negative character. Jesus' enemies are said to have been scornful of the thought that he should be considered a "prophet," "Son of God," or the Jewish "Messiah." The testimony of the sources on this point, such as it is, is fairly general, and regarding the matter of Jesus' Messianic claims it is particularly strong. It testifies to the mystery which was felt to attach to his person and mission. If these enemies of our Lord could not accept a high Christology, they could not at all events simply ignore him. Their words, hence, have a value for us in so far as they serve to raise a problem which admittedly they cannot solve.

In Table IV we are confronted with as conclusive evidence as one could wish that throughout his ministry Jesus' *disciples* considered him as their teacher par excellence. In some cases, as at Mark 9:5; 11:21, the original Hebrew "Rabbi" appears in the Greek text of the Gospel source Luke's source (L, and L^{ca} following the former), alone at times curiously changes this to "master" (*epistata*, vocative), a term which, it has been shown, might even stand for "headmaster" in the Greek educational system, and therefore one chosen for the dignity which it suggested.⁴⁰

This indicates that to Luke or his source the ordinary Greek word for teacher (*didaskalos*) did not appeal as being sufficiently impressive to translate the Hebrew "Rabbi."⁴¹ Perhaps it was the same motivation that suggested to "Matthew" that "Lord" (*kyrie*, vocative) was a proper Greek translation for the same term in some of the passages!⁴²

It is striking that the disciples nowhere in the Gospels or their sources are said to have thought of Jesus as a "prophet." The one reference in L (Luke 24:19) is not from the mouth of any of the band of twelve; the speaker here is Cleopas or his companion on the road down to Emmaus. In the weeks immediately following the resurrection, Peter (Acts 3:22) and Stephen (Acts 7:37) are both said to have referred to the prophecy of the prophet "like unto" Moses, as fulfilled in Jesus. But during his lifetime Jesus' disciples pointedly rejected the idea that he should be considered among the prophets.⁴³

With these two facts in mind—that the disciples regarded Jesus first and last as their "Rabbi," and not as a prophet after the fashion of some from the crowds—we are the more impressed with the clear-cut break made by Mark,⁴⁴ and *Special Matthew*,⁴⁵ during the same period of the later Galilean ministry, in favor of a higher Christology. The impression is made upon us that it was the pressure of events, or rather of Jesus' personality as it revealed itself in those events, which led the disciples to take this tremendous leap—from "Rabbi" to "Messiah" at a single bound! John's source also records the break in the continuity of the disciples' thought about Jesus as occurring at the same period, and in even more cautious words than those of Mrk and M, "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life."⁴⁶ Thus we have it recorded for the same period of the ministry by three separate

sources. This is strong testimony, indeed, and the very diverse forms of statement in the three places add to our assurance of the essential accuracy of the records. The convergence of several strands of the evidence on a single motif after this manner is the sort of phenomenon to which Sir Edwyn Hoskyns alluded in the first criterion mentioned above. Can anyone doubt that it should afford the confidence he feels as to the historicity of such source material?

As we turn to Table V, what immediately strikes our attention is the relatively greater emphasis which *Jesus* makes upon the higher Christology. He acknowledged his prophetic function on occasion (Mark 1:38), that he was the instrument whereby the divine healing was accomplished, provided faith were present (Mark 5:34; 10:52), and also his right to the title of *Rabbi* (Mark 14:14; cf. John 13:13, 14). But, as we have already seen (Chapter I), from the Baptism and Temptation experiences forward, he is recorded to have known himself to be the "Son of God" (Luke 4:3, 9, Q), or the Messiah in some sense (Mark 1:11). The testimony of our sources to this Messiah, Son of God Christology is fairly complete, as every source puts one or the other term upon his lips (and even more convincingly, *as the thought in his innermost consciousness*), at one time or another during his ministry.⁴⁷

But what is far more strikingly original in our Lord's self-awareness even than this is the fact to which every one of the Gospel sources bears independent and repeated testimony, namely, that Jesus spoke of himself on many occasions as the "Son of Man." It has often been remarked that this was the distinctive epithet which Jesus applied to himself, but one has to see the overwhelming evidence of this as set forth in the accompanying table, and to see it, moreover, against the background of the study we have just been making of the terms used by others to describe

their thoughts about Jesus, in order to apprehend its deep significance. Dalman has observed that the fact that the Synoptists "never by any chance allow the term to glide into their own language . . . confirms this usage as a historical fact."⁴⁸ And Oscar Holtzmann long ago wrote, "It cannot be questioned at all that on many occasions Jesus did apply to himself the expression 'the Son of Man'; to deny it were pure arbitrariness!"⁴⁹

It should be noted that the accompanying table *does not contain all the instances of Jesus' use of the term "Son of Man"* as recorded by our sources, by any means. We have eliminated some of these from every one of the sources, as the note and following list of John's references in Appendix B will show. Several reasons for this procedure are to be given: In the first place, it is obvious that in some cases Jesus uses the term in the sense of "a man" or "a son of man" merely and quite without any reference to himself, as for example at Luke 12:10 (Q), which as Manson has shown is a slightly different version of Mark 3:28 *seq.* where the meaning is quite clear.⁵⁰ Again, "Son of Man" is at times simply a substitute for "I" or "me" according to the grammar, as for instance at Luke 7:34. Elsewhere, the phrase does not occur in the corresponding passage in the other Gospel(s) deriving from the same source. A well-known illustration of this is to be found in the parallels — Mark 8:27; Matt. 16:13; and Luke 9:18 — where the fundamental question asked by Jesus reads with Mark, "Who do men say that I am?" It is reasonable to suppose that here M or Matthew has inserted the words "Son of Man" and that Jesus did not actually utter them on this occasion. For a complete discussion of these passages the student is referred to Manson's *Teaching of Jesus*.⁵¹ The present writer does not agree in all cases with the conclusions therein reached, but the principles elaborated are certainly

sound and it is hardly worth our while here to debate the merits of every case.

Quite enough evidence remains to justify the conclusion that Jesus assuredly used the phrase relative to himself on many occasions, in the titular or Messianic sense. If this cannot be considered as reasonably certain, then it hardly seems worth while to attempt to establish anything pertaining to our Lord's life and person and ministry by the methods of literary and historical criticism!

MEANING OF THE TERM "SON OF MAN" ON JESUS' LIPS

But if the data prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Jesus thought and spoke of himself in some sense as the "Son of Man," the question naturally arises, In *what* sense? This is by no means easy to answer. Harnack wrote some years ago, "It is still very probable to me that the term in Jesus' mouth had never any other meaning [than Messiah]." ⁵² But this is even yet not very clear. What sort of Messiah was the term intended to suggest? More particularly, what sort did Jesus wish it to suggest to his disciples, to whom he addressed the teachings in which this phrase appears? Goguel concludes from his study of the uses of the expression previous to Jesus' day that it "was a rather rare designation of the Messiah envisaged in his role as Judge." This thought arises, of course, from the exalted state of the "Son of Man" in the apocalypses, where he appears upon the clouds of heaven and is given authority by the "Ancient of Days." Yet, Goguel adds, on Jesus' lips "the title was a little mysterious and elastic"! ⁵³ More than a *little* mysterious and elastic, one imagines. The more elaborate study one makes of the passages in which our Lord uses it, the more one is confirmed in this impression.

For, if the reader will observe the thirty-one instances of

the use of the title which we have listed under Table V and in Appendix B, he will discover, as Sir Edwyn Hoskyns has suggested, that they naturally group themselves around two motifs.⁵⁴ There is first the motif of *exaltation*; the "Son of Man" is to come "on the clouds of heaven," "in the glory of his Father with the holy angels," and he will be found "sitting at the right hand of Power" (that is, of God). This exaltation motif appears in Mrk (Mark 8:28; 9:9; 13:26; 14:62), in Q (Luke 12:8; 12:40; 17:24, 26, 30), in M (Matt. 19:28; 24:30; 25:31), in L (Luke 21:36), and in Jn (John 6:27, 62; 12:23; 13:31), that is, in *all* the sources of our Gospels. There is also the motif of *humiliation* attaching to the phrase "Son of Man" on Jesus' lips, and this likewise appears in Mrk (Mark 8:31; 9:12, 31; 10:33, 45; 14:21, 41), in Q (Luke 9:58; 17:22), in L (Luke 22:48; cf. ch. 24:7 in L^{ea}), and in Jn (John 6:53; 8:28; 12:34), being absent, therefore, only from M. In this view, the "Son of Man" is to "suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again." ⁵⁵

The *mysteriousness* and *elasticity* which Goguel sees to reside in Jesus' references to the figure of the "Son of Man" are found in the second of these motifs. The equation "Son of Man" = "Messiah" had been made long before Jesus' day, and in eschatological circles both had been identified with "the figure of Daniel's vision, taken individually" and represented to be "the Messiah coming to judgment." ⁵⁶ That is to say, the exaltation motif attaching to the term was by no means original with Jesus. *What was new with him was that to the Son of Man, Messiah concept he brought the motif of humiliation, of suffering and death!* Such a thought had never attached itself to these great figures in all their history in any Jewish literature, either within or outside Scripture, *before Jesus' day* — nor, it may

be added, *after* it for that matter. The only possible exception which might be allowed to this statement is that to which Rabbi Joshua ben Levi referred in Zech. 9:9, as indicated at the beginning of this chapter, where the reference is, not to the "Son of Man," but to Israel's "king," the Jewish Messiah.

To the Jew, the terms "Son of Man" and "Messiah" stood for exaltation, for glory, for the authority of God exercised by his viceroy. Anything other than this conception was and remains unthinkable and repugnant to him. The Zechariah passage must be considered an enigma, a sport suggested perhaps by the "Suffering Servant" concept of the Deutero-Isaiah.⁵⁷ But in any case it never influenced Jewish thought about the great figures with which we are dealing here. For until and except for Jesus, no one ever thought of bringing together the three epithets that lay side by side in Hebrew prophecy and apocalyptic, "Son of Man," "Messiah," and "Suffering Servant." This was utterly new with Jesus. The question, therefore, forces itself upon us: *How did Jesus come to make this strange combination of figures and to attempt to fulfill the lineaments of their combined prophetic portraiture in his own person and work?*

The answer to this question takes us all the way back to the Baptism and Temptation experience. There Jesus is represented as conscious that he is being ordained and consecrated as, at once, the Suffering Servant and the Messiah. That consciousness can only have arisen out of his profound insight into the nature of things in a moral universe. He was later to teach and live and die for the belief that in such a universe love is the greatest of all creative forces.⁵⁸ Accordingly, his conception of the Messiahship would find its motivation in that supreme force.

"The King of love my Shepherd is,
Whose goodness faileth never."

The psalmist did not quite sing that, but he may have meant it! And the deepest natures have always responded to the sublime truth that in the Old Testament there is no finer insight into the character of God than the teaching of the Twenty-third Psalm, and similarly that the New Testament contains no greater word than the simple sentence, "God is love."

The "graciousness" of Jesus, of which we have previously written, was not something worn on the sleeve of his tunic. It was the outward manifestation of an infinitely understanding and loving spirit. Jesus was that to begin with; this at any rate requires no proof. Our Gospels are full of it from beginning to end and in all their sources; so that, if this datum be not true, then we simply have no knowledge whatsoever of Jesus as he was. The *gracious* Jesus was the *real* Jesus. Here, at all events, we can make a beginning.

Can anyone believe, then, that Jesus did not recognize the power of the love that welled up within him for all men? Is it possible that he did not know that it was that love which would constrain men like Paul to follow him? Historically, it has been the "love of Christ" that made men his vassals. Surely, he knew this would be the case!

If this method of argument is sound, then it follows that Jesus would not fail to see the relevance of the two great prophetic figures of the "Messiah" and the "Suffering Servant" for one another and for his own mission. Possibly it was Zechariah who gave him the hint at the first; but he did not need that hint. The nature of the authority of the Messiah required definition, and the most nearly

true definition — the only one adequate in a moral universe — was that to be found in the character of the Suffering Servant. *And that character was the one Jesus saw to reside within himself!*

Who shall say in what order these ideas came to the mind of our Lord? Or *how* they came! Was it by the process of logical deduction that he found himself to be the Messiah? Did he "put two and two together" to make four? What if they were *always* present there! Of all the suggestions, the worst is that he learned *first* at his baptism and *through the heavenly voice* who and what he was and is! If Jesus had to be told by anyone that he was the Messiah and what sort of Messiah he was, then our entire belief in his moral insight is without foundation. And that simply cannot be.

Jesus knew himself to be the Suffering Servant of the Deutero-Isaiah, *because he knew himself*. Moreover, he knew that Suffering Servant to answer to the only legitimate definition of a "Messiah" in a theistic world. Therefore, he knew himself to be the Messiah. We are not saying that Jesus deduced his Messiahship after this fashion. That would be absurd. We are only saying that the syllogism is a true one and that in a morally rational universe it is impossible that Jesus should not at once have apprehended its several parts without effort.

But we must not overlook the fact that there is other proof of Jesus' understanding of the necessity that was laid upon him to be the Suffering Servant. At the rejection in the synagogue at Nazareth, the account of which occurs in L, it was the role of the Suffering Servant which our Lord said he was about to assume.⁵⁹ The portion from Deutero-Isaiah quoted in the Gospel shows that he felt himself to be under compulsion — the constraint of the Father's will surely — to fulfill this mission:

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he anointed me to preach good tid-
ings to the poor:
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the
captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the
Lord."

This, we cannot doubt, is his own interpretation of what the Baptism experience meant to him, just as the answer he gave in connection with the Baalzebub controversy was his explanation of his Temptation! ⁶⁰

Moreover, on at least one subsequent occasion he defined the scope of his ministry in terms of the mission of the same Isaianic figure. This was when John the Baptist sent his disciples to enquire whether he were the "coming one." ⁶¹ By way of reply our Lord once more represented the nature of his mission in terms of the labors of the Suffering Servant. ⁶² The Baptist, as we have already seen in Chapter I, stressed the judgment side of the picture in drawing the Messiah's portrait for his contemporaries. Jesus' reply to his disciples on this occasion was a virtual challenge to John to conceive of the Messiah wholly in terms of the evangelistic and philanthropic activity of the Servant. And he closed with the significant appeal to John contained in the words, "And blessed is he, whosoever shall find no occasion of stumbling in me"! These three events — the Baptism in Mark, the rejection from the synagogue in L, and the reply to the Baptist in Q — represent as many attempts to say the same thing. Taken together they constitute irresistible testimony to Jesus' understanding of the Father's will for him in line with the portrait of the Suffering Servant.

One of the most instructive facts pertaining to the three prophetic titles, as these were used by our Lord, is yet to be noted. It is here that the adoption of the third title — "Son of Man," to include the characteristic motif of the Suffering Servant concept of humiliation — finds its explanation.

Moreover, a moment's reflection will reveal that such explanation is required. None of the three pivotal events to which reference has just been made contains any allusion of either an implicit or explicit character to the Son of Man concept. It is obvious, accordingly, that that concept was not normative in Jesus' thinking! It was something acquired after some searching for the right term with which to clothe his fundamental thought about himself. It was, indeed, but the shell that served to enclose the kernel of his deepest convictions. This was to have been expected, for, as we have seen, there is abundant reason to believe that Jesus' thinking was *prophetic*, while the Son of Man concept was *apocalyptic*! In the nature of the case, therefore, it could be no more than a formal use which he would make of this term.

The fact to be noted is that at times the suffering or humiliation motif became detached in Jesus' thought from the Suffering Servant concept, and was capable of standing alone! This appears from the series of references (all of which are found to follow the Caesarea Philippi experience) to the "cross" as being inevitable both to the Master and to his disciples. These include, of course, the three open prophecies delivered to his intimate disciples,⁶³ and also the conversation with James and John over the matter of precedence in the Kingdom, when he spoke of the "cup" and the "baptism" they must undergo for his sake.⁶⁴ These passages are all from Mark. Q contains materials of the same sort.⁶⁵ "But I have a baptism to be baptized

with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! " And he that doth not take his cross and follow after me, is not worthy of me." " He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

These passages contain the humiliation motif of the Suffering Servant concept, but the concept itself is lacking! They constitute, accordingly, the best possible proof of how integral the suffering idea derived from that term had become in our Lord's thinking. The motif of passion for which that great figure stood had become so necessary to our Lord's thought about his ministry, it would seem, as to be capable of dissociation from the very figure with which it was related and which gave it birth in his mind! *It is, then, but another step to suggest that it could be attached to another concept to which it did not initially or normally belong.*

The incident referred to at the beginning of this chapter, which both the Church at large and the usual commentators have wrongly termed the triumphal entry, was a symbolic act illustrative of the point we have just been making. Zech., ch. 9 contains no mention of the figure of the Suffering Servant. That the humiliation motif was present to the prophet's imagination, however, is revealed in the Messiah's attitude (" lowly, and riding upon an ass "), as he enters the Holy City.⁶⁶ Similarly, it is the humble aspect of our Lord's character which on this occasion the Gospels put in the forefront of the picture.⁶⁷ Clearly, he deliberately undertakes to fulfill the Zechariah concept of the humble Messiah! ⁶⁸

Mark is the source here generally, but there are additions in the other Gospels from unknown sources or from the hands of the authors themselves. There is no suggestion in any of these materials that either the disciples or the crowds at the time thought of this as a triumph given to a

glorious king, or, indeed, as having any Messianic significance whatever! M specifically states that when the question of Jesus' identity was raised the answer came from the crowd: "This is the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth of Galilee."⁶⁹ The shouts which are recorded in Mrk are merely quotations from Ps. 118:25, 26, one of the Hallel psalms (Ps. 113 to 118), which were sung at the feasts and by the pilgrims as they came up to Jerusalem on these occasions.⁷⁰

Moreover, the "branches" or "layers of leaves" which are mentioned were the *lulab* of the Mishnah, a festal garland made up of "the branches of the palm, myrtle, and willow" according to Canon Danby.⁷¹ M. Pesahim 3:8 states that Jericho was famous for the cultivation of palms, no doubt for this very purpose! Josephus repeats the statement.⁷² And it was from the direction of Jericho that, according to Mark, these pilgrims were coming! It is suggestive that M. Sukkah 3:9 states that at the Feast of Tabernacles it was specified that the *lulab* should be waved at Ps. 118:25, the exact point at which the crowds are said by Mark to have strewn the branches in the way! This coincidence can hardly be accidental.

In view of this evidence, we incline to agree with Schweitzer that on this occasion the crowds and even the disciples were quite innocent of any intention of giving Jesus a triumph.⁷³ The Fourth Gospel pointedly remarks that the disciples were unaware until long afterward of the significance of the event.⁷⁴ L states that the Pharisees read a meaning in the words of the psalm, as applied to the event, that the people did not see, and that they protested to Jesus that it should not be permitted to go unchallenged. Jesus acknowledged the same and allowed it to stand!⁷⁵ The exuberance of the crowd, then — their spreading of garments and branches before the ass, their songs and shouts — we

may well believe, was compounded of two things, namely, the joy native to the Jewish feasts and expressed on all such occasions, and their great reverence for Jesus as a prophet of unusual ability and insight.⁷⁶ *And so the incident becomes a symbol of the humiliation of one who failed to present to the world the aspect of a king!*

To that world he was just a man as other men, a "son of man," to use the Aramaic term. Was that not, then, the proper phrase with which to clothe his thought about himself? "Son of Man" — such he was in his humiliation and apparently nothing more! It was perhaps thus that our Lord came to use the term into which as a mold he poured far more than it had ever before signified.

Are we not, then, justified in reconstructing the ordering of our Lord's ideas regarding himself somewhat as follows? *First*, knowing that he possessed in infinite measure the mightiest power on earth — love for his fellow men — he recognized himself to be the Messiah, one who would rule by love. At the same time, he knew himself to be the Suffering Servant, for conditions being as they are in a sinful world, if love was to accomplish its purpose, it must inevitably lead the Messiah to suffer and die for the people over whose hearts he held sway. *Secondly*, as the thought of suffering for those he loved became for our Lord the ruling passion of his life, that thought detached itself from the Suffering Servant concept as its necessary support and was able to stand alone, no longer a simple *motif*, but the central *motive* thenceforth governing all his thought and activity. *Thirdly*, in searching for a self-designation that might serve as the vehicle for expressing his conviction about his mission, our Lord hit upon a term — the *Son of Man*. This term, because of its eschatological reference, could be made to serve for the eventual *exaltation* of the Messiah. At the same time it was sufficiently mundane to

allow the attachment to itself of the motif of *humiliation* and *suffering*, which was native to the Servant concept.

If it be granted that this statement of the case approximately explains the various factors involved in our problem, then it follows that we are here in the presence of a uniquely original and withal an utterly frank spirit. This was a spirit which knew itself for exactly what it was. It possessed the secret of how to sway men, a secret just the opposite of the foul spirit that is at present seeking to conquer the world. That secret was love and this heart knew itself possessed of it in a matchless degree. Therefore, it also knew that it could, and was destined to, exert the ultimate mastery in men's lives.

But at the same time our Lord's mind had no illusions as to how love was to gain its mastery. That must be by the way of suffering, of temptation, of sorrow, of the cross, of death. And because this mind suffered from no complexes, it was prepared to go the way of the cross. It did not care for the world's pomp and glory; nor did it consider mockery and shame beneath its dignity.

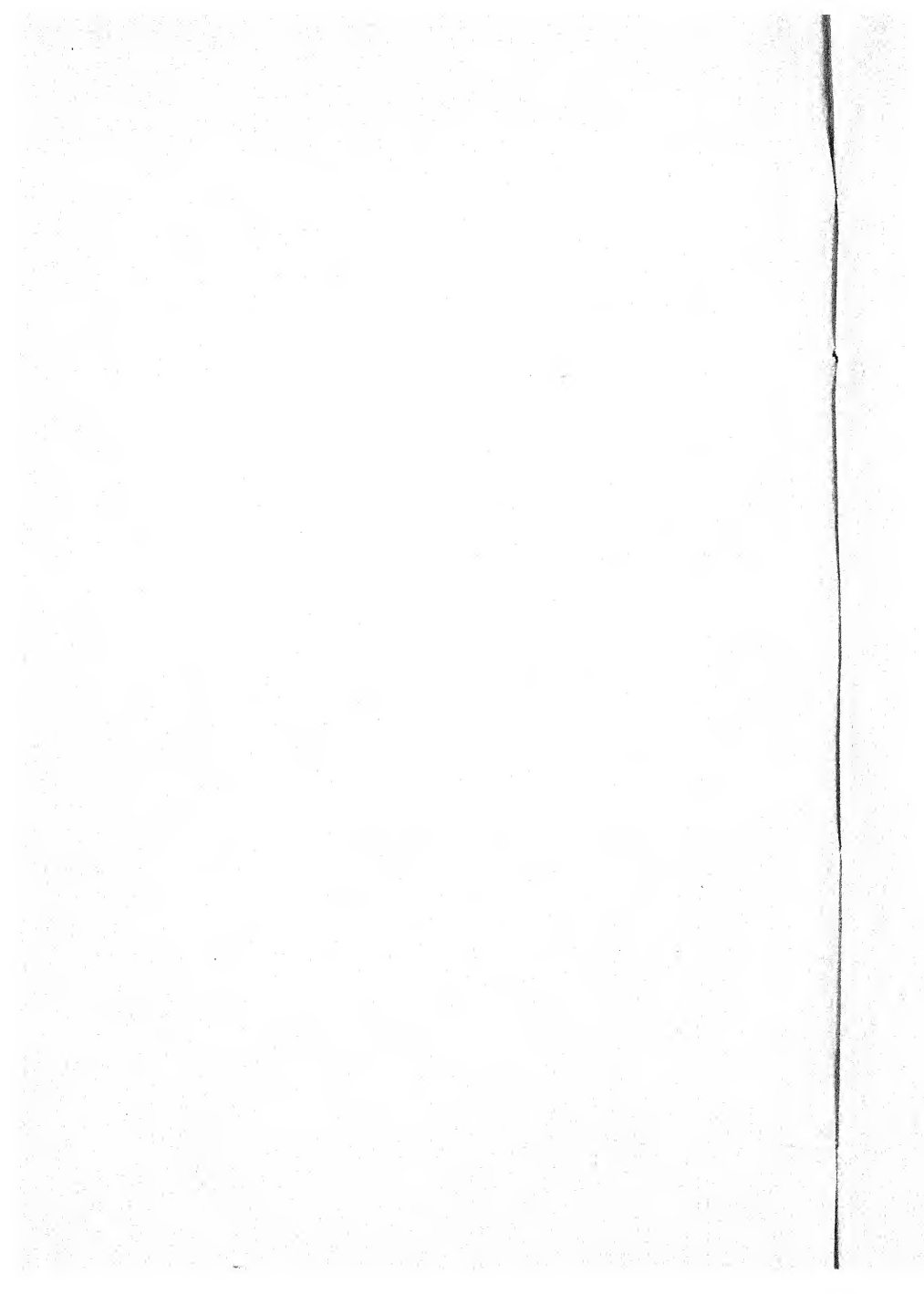
This mind was also entirely free in the play of its imagination. It was not hampered by conventions and prejudices, and yet it was evenly balanced. Where it found an idea, a motif, a figure which it could use, it used it. And while avoiding the danger of creating a picture that would prove fantastic and bizarre, it nonetheless painted in firm, bold strokes with the abandon of the conscious master.

And the result? The Son of Man, Suffering Servant, Messiah of the Remnant of Jesus' brush was something utterly unique. Like a chemical, as distinct from a mechanical, mixture it was more than the simple sum of these elements. It was something new. It was not just another name for Messiah, as Harnack thought, nor for Judge, after Goguel; though it was both of these, it was far more *and*

different. Nor was it only the Son of Man of the apocalypticists; the humiliation motif forbids our thinking that.

For the first time in Israel's history a genuinely *redemptive* concept has emerged, and one that is, therefore, in the true sense *prophetic*. For it is this toward which the prophets had been struggling for centuries. The Messiah was originally their creation — a ruler and judge and defender of his people. Then came the *Suffering Servant* with his overwhelming, creative love. To these the apocalypticists made their contribution with the title *Son of Man*, which, in view of its originally corporate character, suggested the Messiah's identification with the people of God in their exaltation to His right hand. The elements of the salvation God had to offer his people are all here — power, love, exaltation. But with the concepts separate they lie sterile.

The Church's Gospels say that Jesus first brought them together, and that the manner of his doing so was to choose the title "Son of Man" as the *form* for the concept to assume, while into this *form* he poured the *content* of the Suffering Servant (humiliation, suffering) and Messiah (exaltation) notions. This is, to some extent, to reverse the theory of a *formal Messiahship* at which we shall look in Chapter VI! It was, says the Church, this ultimate tripartite conception which produced the Christian faith, and it was this for which Jesus lived and died. What are we to conclude, then? Did Jesus create this unique faith, or the faith this unique Jesus?



*The Inescapable Christ—The
“Spirit of Holiness”*

“In that place you must wear crowns of gold, and enjoy the perpetual sight and vision of the Holy One, for there you shall see him as he is.”

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

SYNOPSIS

AS was noted in Chapter III, Professor Grant states that Jesus made no "claims" for himself. It would be more correct to say that his every word and deed constituted a claim to "Lordship" over the lives of men. It is true that there was a certain subtlety about the manner of his challenging men to adopt an attitude of allegiance to himself. It was this subtlety which Wrede misunderstood. He concluded in consequence that the "Messianic secret" was an invention of the Church!

Jesus' method of claiming Lordship over men was to call them to "follow" him, to attend upon his person, to see his marvelous works, to hear his matchless teachings, to "come and see" for themselves, and thus to form their own judgment. The basis of his Lordship lay in his sense of unique filial relation to the Father. Because he knew himself to be the unique Son, he and he alone could introduce men to the Father: hence, he is the Lord of men in the realm of the spirit. The nature of Jesus' Lordship was determined, not by his Davidic birth — there had been many scions of the line of David, but none of them was the Messiah; nor again, by his birth of a Virgin — stories of such births are found in various literatures, and who shall decide between them and that of Jesus? Jesus' Lordship is grounded in that "spirit of holiness" which, as Paul put it, is found in him — a spirit utterly unique.

Jesus, then, is the fulfillment of the ethicospiritual Messiahship of which the prophets dreamed. He is the true Messiah of the spiritual "remnant" from among all peoples: he alone is "worthy of the diadem" and "he shall have it"!

V

WE HAVE now to consider what is on the whole probably the strongest claim to creative originality that can be made on our Lord's behalf. This concerns his thought about his Lordship over the lives and spirits of men. Professor Grant, as we have seen, holds that Jesus made no claims for himself. It would be more accurate — far more accurate — to say that in his every word, teaching, and action he laid claim to Lordship over his hearers' minds and hearts. His aphorisms were, many of them, calls to decision; his works, challenges to faith; his parables, demands for insight. Moreover, the decision, faith, and insight unmistakably impinge on himself as the Mediator of the Kingdom experience.

Let us listen as he speaks to those who are within the sound of his voice, more especially to his disciples: "Think not that I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword" — then grasp that sword! "And he that doth not take his cross and follow after me, is not

worthy of me" — then take up that cross! "He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it" — then lose thy life for me! "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." He that hath eyes to see, let him open them and behold. In all and through all and above all, *ecce homo!*

To be sure, there was a certain subtlety — to use the term in a proper sense — about Jesus' claims to Lordship. But would we have it otherwise? Wrede professed to be puzzled by this subtlety, termed the phenomenon the "Messianic secret," and made it the invention of the Church. The latter, said this scholar, believed in Jesus' Messiahship but could find no claim of this nature among his authentic utterances. Therefore, the Church proceeded to invent the thought that during his lifetime our Lord had committed the secret of his Messiahship to but a very select circle made up largely of the Twelve, and to these he gave command that they remain silent about it until after his Passion and Resurrection. Actually, of course, it was *Wrede* and not the *Church*, who could find no such claim on Jesus' lips. The Church has never failed to find it from the earliest days down to the present time.

After all, how, exactly, should Jesus have proceeded to make such claim for himself? This question is not intended facetiously; it is put in all seriousness. There were not many ways open to him. Should he have marched at the head of his band of followers into the Temple area and, standing beside the high priest on the steps leading up to the Court of the Priests, have proclaimed himself unhesitatingly as Israel's Messiah? Would it have been clearer had he incorporated in his Sermon on the Mount an article of creed relative to himself and asked his disciples to sign it on the dotted line? Or would it have been fitting had he gone through the villages of Galilee proclaiming

himself the Messiah and urging his claim as the content of his Gospel?

These ways had indeed been tried, or others of similar nature, and Jesus warned his followers that they would be tried again! But, had Jesus employed them, we might have entertained grave doubts about the source or sources that attributed such actions to him. We might have said: "This truly is not the *real* Jesus, not the Jesus of the parables and the Beatitudes, not the Jesus of a fine moral discernment that searches the conscience of every man, not the Jesus who knew himself spiritually so near the Father as to be in reality one with him in thought and will. *This* Jesus is the product of an unimaginative Church, of what are known on the mission fields as second- or third-generation Christians, or even of the obtuse Catholicism of the second century!" Had Jesus acted in the manner described, he would certainly have shared the fate of all other messianic claimants from Judas of Gamala to Bar-kokhba. And — what is infinitely more serious — he would have no more deserved the Messiahship than they!

Our Lord did, indeed, die because he claimed to be the Messiah. But it was singularly hard to prove that he had made such a claim. In desperation the high priest, president of the Sanhedrin, in flagrant disregard of the Mishnaic principle involved, asked the accused to testify against himself! The technical charge on which Jesus was put to death was that of "blasphemy."¹ This was a capital offense, and in such cases confession could be demanded of the culprit, but only after a proper trial and condemnation as the result of the careful examination of witnesses, whose testimony should be found to agree.² This collusion of testimony could not be obtained in Jesus' case! It is fair to suppose, therefore, that Jesus had never used the tactics of the various pretenders previous to and following his

time. Our canonical Gospels are clearly trustworthy in reporting that he never issued a public statement avowing his Messiahship.

But there was another and quite different way to claim the Messianic dignity — a way that Wrede professed to be no claim at all! This was the one adopted by Jesus and the record of it as preserved in our Gospels is as follows:

JESUS' PROPHETIC MANNER OF CLAIMING LORDSHIP

Again we return to the Baptism-Temptation narrative with a view to recalling that Jesus sensed his *right* to and assured *heritage* of Lordship over men. Psychologically interpreted, the "voice" heard by him at his baptism meant, as we have seen, two things: that he knew himself to be the true Messiah of the prophets, and that the attainment of his Messiahship would involve tragedy and death for him.

We have not hitherto inquired into the exact nature of the Temptation which followed the Baptism. It is now relevant to do so. We begin by noting that the later experience presupposes the earlier and that it is intelligible only if we may assume the knowledge on Jesus' part to which that earlier gives testimony. Twice the Tempter addresses him with the hypothetical, "If thou art the Son of God," the basic concept of the heavenly "voice" on the earlier occasion. Two points are worthy of note here. In the first place, the phrase "Son of God" stands at the very minimum for "Messiah." The equation of the two is made in the pre-Christian apocalyptic literature, for example, by IV Ezra and Enoch (in one stratum of the book, at least).³ It clearly occurs in several of the Gospel sources as well. Thus, in Mrk the high priest at Jesus' trial inquires, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?"⁴ Lk's "passion narrative," as H. J. Cadbury has suggested,

apparently split this simple question into the two parts: "If thou art the Christ, tell us" and "Art thou then the Son of God?"^{5, 6} Cadbury comments that "within the compass of four verses of the Gospel $\delta \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\acute{\nu}\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$ (*ho hyios tou anthropou*), $\delta \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (*ho hyios tou theou*), and $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ seem to be used interchangeably and to be interpreted three verses later by $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ (*christos basileus*) (xxiii. 2)."

The same equation occurs also in M in connection with the Caesarea Philippi experience, where Peter avows his faith in the words, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."⁷ Add to these the passages in John's Gospel of like import,⁸ and those in The Acts.⁹ This leaves only Q among our Gospel sources in which the equation is not made in just so many words. However, the Temptation narrative itself at which we are looking comes from Q, and although the third temptation does not use the terms "Son of God" or "Messiah," it clearly implies that this Jesus, to whom the kingdoms of the world may be given, is to be the Messiah. He is, therefore, if one combine the basic ideas of the first, second, and third temptations, "Son of God" and "Messiah," or shall we simply say "Son of God, Messiah"?

The other item of importance to be noted in connection with the opening clause of the first two temptations, namely, "If thou art the Son of God," is that here the assumption is clearly intended that *Jesus knows himself to be the Messiah*. Though the clause is stated in the form of a hypothesis, no doubt it is intended to be thrown thereby on the truth of its content. In both the English and the underlying Greek, if any uncertainty were intended in the mind of our Lord, the condition would have been otherwise expressed. In English such doubt might have been indicated by the simple change of the verb, the condition then read-

ing, "If thou *be* the Son of God." ¹⁰ The meaning of the construction in the Greek is equally clear. To have registered uncertainty, the construction should have read *ean* with the aorist subjunctive. As it stands we read rather *ei* with the present indicative, which beyond question means, "If thou art the Son of God, and thou art that," or, "Since thou art the Son of God, as we both acknowledge," that assumption furnishing the ground of the temptation.

Similarly, the third temptation becomes psychologically intelligible only when the assumption is made that Jesus knew himself to be the rightful Messiah, worthy of whatever prerogatives the title entailed. The problem of the nature of the Tempter, as to whether this figure is intended to represent a personal subject or merely an extension, so to speak, of the consciousness of our Lord and its objectification, need not concern us here. In either event, it is clearly assumed that this third temptation, whatever its content and meaning, could come only to one whose mind is harassed by certain problems entailing the undoubted assurance of his Messiahship.

If, then, the three temptations experienced by our Lord at the beginning of his ministry do not concern the *fact* of his Messiahship, the problem of their exact meaning obtrudes itself with redoubled insistence. The solution appears to be that they relate generally to the *nature* of the Messiahship — to what one who knows himself to be the Messiah may and may not do, to what sort of obligations the Messiahship entails on such an individual, to what the Messiah's objectives and motivations should be, to the methods to be adopted in acquiring his rightful status.

When the meaning of the Baptism for Jesus himself, as outlined in Chapter I, is seen to involve the conviction that he is a type of Messiah who is destined to acquire his heritage only through suffering and sorrow and death, psycho-

logical considerations suggest that the order of the temptations as given in Matthew is probably the historically correct one.¹¹ The *first* temptation, then, will be *to avoid committing himself to the certain implications* of that kind of Messiahship. May not the Son of God, as the divine Viceroy in the world, claim the right to exercise divine powers with a view to staving off any hardships which his earthly career may entail? The reply comes as a clear "word" of God: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."¹² That is to say, Messiahship, of the only sort possible in the world as constituted, demands utter *identification with "man"* in all his interests and weaknesses. As, hence, man cannot exercise divine prerogatives, neither may the Messiah who is his Lord and Leader.¹³

By the same token of psychological probability, the *second* temptation will be one *to doubt the divine care and providence* once commitment to the hard way of attaining Messiahship has been accepted as the right course of action. Would not expediency suggest that trial be made of God's ability and readiness to measure up in a crisis? Again, the divine "word": "Thou shalt not make trial of the Lord thy God."¹⁴ As man must trust God every step of the way through life, so the Messiah will have to do! Doubtless the way will often be dark and hard. But there are to be no *stunts* or *signs* to assure the Messiah, any more than to convince the crowds.

To discover and state the essential meaning of the *third* temptation to our Lord's mind has not been easy. It evidently conveyed to him a wholly monstrous idea — that he should become Satan's Messiah rather than God's! That is the sum of the matter, however it is to be understood and explained. The narrative represents Jesus as brushing aside the thought with an impatience not exhibited in the

former instances. Satan is forthwith rebuked and only afterward does the divine "word" come: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."¹⁵

Montefiore thinks the third temptation may be explained as follows:

"When Jesus came to believe that he was the Messiah, the temptation may have come to him: 'Shall I try to collect an army? shall I fight for the Messianic crown?' And then he may have thought that his vocation and duty were to . . . leave the issue to God. God, not he, shall supply the 'force' and intervene for the final triumph."¹⁶

The only issue which Montefiore can discover as involved in this temptation is "one of means to an ultimate end. The end was the same both to Jesus and to many of the Rabbis."¹⁷

This theory that the third temptation concerns a problem of *method* only is a very prevalent one in the Church today. Millenarians of all schools, who assert that Jesus is even yet to become the Messiah of the Jews after some peculiar fashion in the eschatological time, generally see in this last temptation experienced by our Lord a question of the *means* to be employed to arrive at a goal which they can conceive only in terms of the popular Messianism of Jesus' day. At this point millenarian Christianity and Zionist Judaism are at one!

But a keen ethical insight has long since observed that *method* and *motivation* (or *goal*) are usually joined in a kind of intimacy so subtle that the one cannot be altered without materially changing the other! "After all," whispers the Tempter, "it is only a matter of *how* the common aim is to be achieved. Does not the end justify the means? It is permissible to do evil that good may come. For it is

the eventual good that both God and man have in view. Both, therefore, can afford to overlook the shady means, so long as that good is attained! "

How logical this sounds and how human! But one imagines that most men feel instinctively (for after all this is a moral universe and men generally possess a conscience, that is, they hear the moral *Bat Qol* or "echo" of God's voice in their souls!) that there is a flaw somewhere in this kind of reasoning. One suspects that, if the goal be really good, it ought not to *justify*, but rather to *sanctify* the means to its attainment! One begins to sense that a goal which can be attained by unrighteous methods is somehow *not a good goal*.

Now, there is more than a hint that in the third temptation of Jesus we are observing this subtle interplay of means and end. And moreover it seems to teach that Jesus had in view not only two different methods of attaining the Messiahship, but actually two separate Messianic concepts. The hint in question is given in the Tempter's words, "All these things will I give thee." This refers to *method* surely, to *Satan's way*. But the Tempter proceeds, "If thou wilt fall down and worship me," be *my* Messiah rather than God's. Here, just as assuredly, it is *end* and not means that is had in view.

In the light of this discussion, perhaps we shall best understand the three temptations if we think of the first two as *involving the forming of proper judgments, and so, as proceeding entirely on the intellectual level*. The judgments will include the two ideas, (a) that the Messiah is wholly to identify himself with man in the necessity which is laid upon him to hear and obey every "word of God," and (b) that in doing so he is to trust the providence of God at every step. These are, as we have seen, merely the logical implicates of the Suffering Servant, Messiah concept

accepted by Jesus at least as early as the Baptism, and probably long before that event.

In themselves, however, these ideas do not involve the necessity of making an ethical decision. Both the writer and the readers of this book are able to entertain them as notions without this fact's involving for them the making of a moral choice. This is because they are not presented *to us*, along with their opposites or alternatives, as possible choices for or against which we are called upon to decide. The same, we cannot doubt, would be true in Jesus' case as well. The notions involved in the first two temptations must have been present to Jesus' mind from the time when he first recognized himself to be the Suffering Servant, Messiah. But it would be only as he stood on the threshold of his ministry, faced with the necessity of deciding how he should proceed, that they would come to him in the form of temptations, for now he must make a *choice* between this way and that. Shall he wholly identify himself with man in his weakness? Must he trust God every step of the way as man must do? Is there no other possibility? Is there no shortcut to lordship over men?

It would be in this ethos of the necessity to make a choice between diverse *methods* that our Lord would be confronted for the first time with the awful truth *that there are in reality no two ways that God's Messiah can proceed!* There is only one. To go another way is in very deed to become not God's Messiah, but Satan's! The third temptation is, therefore, in a sense no new temptation at all; it is but the other two over again and seen in clearer light — indeed, in their true light. It is the place of decision for Jesus, the point in time at which the Messiah made that choice which led to man's eventual salvation and his own right to be the Lord of life. It is no doubt for this reason that only after this third temptation is our Lord's *decision*

recorded: "Get thee hence, Satan."¹⁸ That decision answered for the entire series of temptations; they were all included in the third and, therefore, a decision for that third would be the decision for the series.

If, now, it be asked what that unworthy goal was which was presented to our Lord's mind as an alternative to becoming the Suffering Servant, Messiah of the prophetic voice, the answer is clear: it was to secure the lordship over "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them"¹⁹ That is, it was to fulfill the popular conception of the Messiahship, to be a regal figure commanding armed might and triumphing over all the enemies of his people, subjecting them to his rule. Had Jesus accepted that view, he would perforce have adopted the means to its attainment that precedent attached to it, and in point of fact, no other would have been adequate!

As, however, our Lord made his decision without a moment's hesitation in favor of the prophetic type of Messiahship, he necessarily proceeded at once to follow out a course of action and to use a method which would achieve that sort of Lordship over the lives of his fellow men. We proceed, accordingly, at this point to investigate this method with two purposes in mind. *First*, we shall inquire whether this was in reality a means suited to an effective demonstration of the kind of Messiahship our Lord was attempting to achieve. *Secondly*, in view of the subtle interplay of means and goal to which we have referred, we shall seek to note how far the *means* here enables us to ascertain the nature of the *goal* itself.

We have already remarked that the Pharisees and Zealots disagreed regarding the proper method to be employed in the bringing in of the Kingdom of God and the establishment of the Messiah's rule on earth.²⁰ The latter held that force must be adopted and that the Messiah's men must

fight for his cause. The former said that God would do all that was required to seat his Messiah at his own right hand in his Kingdom. We are acquainted with these two points of view in other contexts. One is the way of *secularism* generally; the other, that of uninstructed, overzealous *piety*. The name of the one is militarism; that of the other, pacifism. Our Lord once again displayed his originality in that he adopted neither course! For, be it noted, had he done so, he would have been falling in line either way with the popular Pharisaic notion of the Messiahship!

Instead, he went about very quietly conscripting men for his service in a way that puzzled friend and foe alike. He invented a term to indicate his choice of a man for discipleship: "Follow thou me" (ἀκολούθει μοι, *akolouthei moi*); or "Come ye after me" (δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, *deute opiso mou*).²¹ This became a *terminus technicum* with Jesus. It was so understood by his disciples and they never presumed to use it themselves in drawing others into the circle of the fellowship. The only recorded occasion on which there is even a faint suggestion that they might have attempted to do so is that relating to "one casting out demons" in Jesus' name.²² They were so roundly rebuked by our Lord in this instance for thus striving to limit his following to their own little circle, that, so far as the record goes, they never tried to do so again!

The evidence for Jesus' use of the terms, both of which may go back to a single Aramaic equivalent, is very strong. It is found in four of our sources (Mrk, Q, M, and Jn). Moreover it receives supplemental confirmation from Q on the lips of others outside the magic circle of Jesus' immediate following²³ — the scribe who said he would follow Jesus wherever he went, the man who wished first to go and bury his father, and a third who said he must first bid his relatives "farewell." By their use of the term, these

three indicate their knowledge of its having a technical meaning on Jesus' lips. A similar witness comes from the disciples' band itself, in the words of Peter, "Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee."²⁴

Our Lord is represented by the Gospel sources named to have used the expressions on nearly a dozen different occasions. Thus, Mark puts one or the other of them on his lips on the occasion of the "call" of the first four disciples,²⁵ then of Levi,²⁶ in connection with a general invitation to the multitude to take up the cross and follow him,²⁷ and in the conversation with the "rich young ruler."²⁸ Q reports their use by Jesus in only one instance — that of the "scribe" in Luke 9:59//Matt. 8:22 referred to above. M also records but one example — the well-known passage which reads, "Verily I say unto you, that ye who have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."²⁹ The rest are in John's Gospel.³⁰ These include the call of Philip, certain general teachings of our Lord regarding the necessity for and manner of following him, and the command to Peter after the resurrection by the lakeside. M reports one other *logion* which should perhaps be added to the list, although the wording is slightly different from the two formulas already mentioned. This is the saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," where the single Greek word *deûre* (*deute*, "come") occurs.³¹

Over against this series of commands on Jesus' part to "follow" him, occurs another equally instructive list which serves in large part to explain the first. This is the group of sayings referred to by Manson as proof that "in the former part of the ministry Jesus is constantly asking for one thing especially, namely, religious and moral in-

sight" on the part of his followers.³² The list includes such sayings as: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."³³ "Having eyes, see ye not? and having ears, hear ye not? and do ye not remember?"³⁴ "Know ye not this parable? and how shall ye know all the parables?"³⁵ These instances are all in Mark's source. But Q has the same thought.³⁶ When the disciples of John the Baptist inquire of Jesus whether he is the "coming one," the reply is, "Go and tell John the things which ye have seen and heard." Jn has it too in the answers of both Jesus and Philip to certain of the Baptist's disciples in the very earliest days: "Come, and ye shall see" and "Come and see."³⁷

Evidently the two sets of passages are reciprocal. Jesus calls men to *follow* him and then asks them to open their eyes and *see for themselves* what their moral insight has to tell them about himself and his claims. We have called this a subtle method of presenting these claims on Jesus' part. It was the subtlety of the salesman, who gives a demonstration of his product with a view to "selling" his constituency. And we may be sure that our Lord adopted it because in the nature of things it was the only way open to him. On the assumption that his Messiahship was of the ethicospiritual sort characteristic of the Messiah of the prophetic voice, this would require a unique type of ethical insight to perceive. As we have remarked above, method and goal were admirably adapted by our Lord to one another. He did not openly and brazenly proclaim his Messiahship to all and sundry for the same reason that he would not perform "signs" in their presence.³⁸ Had he done either the one or the other, he would have proved himself to be a Messianic pretender of the popular type, and that he had no intention of doing.

Manson has called attention to the phenomenon that the call for insight uttered by Jesus to those about him ceases

with the Caesarea Philippi incident, and that from this time forward he summons men to enter the Kingdom of God! From this he concludes that the insight had come in Peter's confession of Jesus' Messiahship and that at the same time that confession, so to speak, brought the Kingdom experience to his disciples.³⁹ For a man to confess Jesus as the "Christ," then, is for him to participate in the Kingdom, or perhaps better, is to acknowledge the sovereignty of God in his life, for the reason that as the Messiah Jesus mediates the Kingdom to men.

In harmony with this observation of Manson, it is to be noted that the "follow me" passages also cease with the Caesarea Philippi episode! As the Gospel narratives now stand, indeed, it might be objected that there are two exceptions to this statement. One of these is the case of the "scribe" in Q. Luke inserts this incident after his account of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi, at ch. 9:57 *seq.*, whereas Matthew has it before that event (ch. 8:18-22). Obviously, this proves nothing: Q, as we have already seen, had no narrative portion and consequently no order of events! Accordingly, Luke and Matthew placed the Q materials in the Marcan framework wherever in their respective judgments they considered them best adapted to the subject matter in hand. That in all probability neither knew in this case where the event should be placed is proved by the fact that they put it in different places.

The other apparent exception to the rule stated is the incident of the "rich young ruler." This occurs in Mark and is placed by him in the period following the close of the Galilean ministry.⁴⁰ *This, it appears, we must admit to be an exception*, but if so, then it is a case of the exception that proves the rule! And it would almost seem that Mark is apologetic in admitting this one exceptional case, for he is careful to explain that there was a special reason

for it. "And Jesus looking upon him loved him" — our Lord was drawn toward this young man in an unusual way, so much so that he departed from his usual custom after Caesarea Philippi. Was this possibly because he foresaw unusual possibilities in this wealthy young Pharisee? For such he very likely was, or at the least an "associate" of the Pharisaic group, to use the Mishnaic term. Some years ago Professor A. M. Pope made the suggestion that this young man may have been the Apostle Paul! ⁴¹ In the nature of things, this is not capable of demonstration, though there are some very interesting coincidences in language between the accounts here and in Paul's own statement regarding his background and conversion. Most notable of these perhaps is the fact that in both cases the "besetting sin" is that of covetousness.⁴² Add to this the fact that there is no indication of any sort in the narrative itself of the source from which it may have been derived by Mark. Professor Grant, for example, has no suggestion to make along this line.⁴³ May that source perhaps have been Paul himself?

However this may be, this exceptional incident does seem to throw into relief the rule that after Peter's great declaration of his faith Jesus ceased calling men to "follow" him and observe for themselves what he did and taught and was. Thereafter he spoke as though in this confession of his Messiahship the Kingdom of God had come into human experience. He now called men to partake of that fellowship which was one at once of faith in himself and of loyalty to the Kingdom principles.

Moreover, as Professor Manson again points out, we seem to have in this analysis of the situation, the key to the understanding of what Wrede called the "Messianic secret." ⁴⁴ Our Lord's reason for commanding silence about his Messiahship *on the part of those who had discovered it* was just

because by virtue of its nature the knowledge of that fact was incommunicable! Every man must apprehend it for himself, or rather, not "flesh and blood," but the "Father who is in heaven" must reveal it to a man's inmost soul.

One wonders whether this does not throw much-needed light on our Lord's strange attitude before the Sanhedrin and Pilate at his trials. Mark's source contained the clear statement, "I am," by way of reply to the high priest's question as to whether he were the Messiah or not.⁴⁵ But Matthew has the words, "Thou hast said,"⁴⁶ and Luke reads, "Ye say that I am."⁴⁷ Moreover, at the trial before Pilate Jesus is reported even by Mark to have replied to the Roman governor's similar question, "Thou sayest."⁴⁸ "If I tell you," says Jesus before the Sanhedrin according to Luke's source here, "ye will not believe: and if I ask you, ye will not answer."⁴⁹

What do all these verbal curiosities mean? Was Jesus trying to dodge the necessity of giving a straightforward answer? That cannot be, for all the sources testify that he knew his time had come and that he was prepared to die. Moreover, his judges take his answers for sufficiently clear admission of his claims to Messiahship to convict him. The correct answer then, perhaps, is that even at his trials our Lord refuses to depart from his usual custom of extracting a confession of his Messiahship from others as the product of their spiritual insight, rather than himself making the bold, blunt claim that in the nature of things can bring nothing but jeers and mockery from his enemies' lips. Even at his trials he would not cast "pearls before swine," but rather would wrest the saving confession from his accusers. John seems to make this procedure, which is implicit in the other Gospel sources, explicit in the question he makes Jesus ask of Pilate: "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee concerning me?"⁵⁰ As Strachan comments, "there

may be" here the "suggestion that Pilate spontaneously recognizes a kingliness in the bearing of Jesus," and, as the succeeding verses in the same passage indicate, our Lord would press home the truth to his mind which that recognition entails.⁵¹ Like Paul, Jesus would "fain make" Christians of his judges!

THE BASIS OF JESUS' CLAIM TO MESSIAHSHIP

We have seen that the peculiar manner of Jesus' statement of his claims to Messiahship was due to the ethico-spiritual nature of the same, which permitted him no other course. He was not the Jewish Messiah of popular expectation; nor did he ever claim to be. And it required a high degree of insight to be able to apprehend the prophetic Messiah that he was. Men must discover it for themselves by *seeing* Jesus somewhat as he was. *How, then, was that? And when men came to see, what exactly did they see? Did he himself give us any hint of what they might hope to discover in him?*

There is not a great deal of evidence, to be sure, and we shall have to be content with piecing together what little we can find. But, once again, would we have it otherwise? Had Jesus blatantly flaunted his secret before the world, we should assuredly have looked askance at such exhibitionism. To this degree Professor Grant is right; the so-called "claims of Christ" are not bold, bald declamations! They are never shouted from the housetops. But they are there nonetheless; they are written into the very tissue of the narrative and they lie between the lines at certain points; elsewhere they are the mere underscoring of a word or phrase.

We begin by noting a striking phrase from Q. The passage in question is one in which the matter under discussion is that of the giving of "signs."⁵² "'No sign,' " says

our Lord, "will be given to his generation 'but the sign of Jonah. For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation.'" There is *something* in Jonah and similarly *something* in the Son of Man that stands as a "sign." Our Lord proceeds, bringing in further the Queen of Sheba who came to see Solomon and to hear his wisdom, and comments, "And behold, a *greater somewhat* than Solomon is here." He closes the discussion with the repetition, "*A greater somewhat* than Jonah is here." It is generally agreed that this translation is correct, and not "a greater than Solomon" and "a greater than Jonah," as it stands in the Revised Versions. The adjective here in both cases is neuter.⁵³

If the question be asked, What is this *greater thing* in Jesus which surpasses the thing that was present in both Jonah and Solomon? for answer we are taken back to the Baalzebub controversy which occurs in the immediate context in Q.^{54. 55} In the Q version of this incident Jesus gives the final solution of the problem presented by his ability to exorcize the demons, in these words: "But if I by the finger of God cast out demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." Accordingly, the *greater thing* in Jesus for which we seek is that character or quality in him which brings the Kingdom among men. It is this which, so to speak, sponsors the Kingdom and guarantees its presence wherever he is.

The *greater thing* is not of itself to be identified with the Kingdom, of course. It is rather *that in Jesus* which brings the Kingdom. Just as it was not what Jonah did or said or what was done to him, but instead Jonah himself, or better, a quality in him, that became a "sign"; so it is Jesus himself — what he is, or that which is within him — that constitutes the "sign" of the Kingdom's presence and makes it a present reality.

What, then, is this characteristic and how should it affect our understanding of the nature of Jesus' person? The clearest statement made by our Lord regarding the matter is again in the Q source. The passage reads:

"In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father; for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight. All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth (who the Son is, save the Father; and) who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." ⁵⁶

The portion here in parentheses is disputed by Harnack, Wellhausen, and others, but this does not affect the argument relative to the *something* in Jesus which is a "sign" and which brings the Kingdom of God to men. Two things are to be noted in the certainly authentic part of the saying: *First*, Jesus here asserts that a filial relation exists between himself as the Son and the Father; this filial relation issues and finds expression in an intimate sort of knowledge of the Father by the Son. *Secondly*, our Lord claims in consequence that a unique sort of commitment of "all things," including more particularly the ability to reveal the Father to his fellow men, has been made to the Son.

The Marcan context of this saying, like all others in Q, is necessarily in dispute because of this document's lack of narrative. Matthew placed it some little while after the mission of the Twelve and immediately following the upbraiding of the cities, but *before* Caesarea Philippi.⁵⁷ Luke put it in conjunction with the return of the Seventy (or "Seventy-two," or perhaps even "Twelve"),⁵⁸ and *after* Caesarea Philippi.⁵⁹ Obviously neither context is authori-

tative. Manson has shown good reason for believing that it is the Q version of our Lord's comments on the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi.⁶⁰ If so, it has some similarity to the M account. Note the parallels:

"Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven."⁶¹

"I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father; for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight."⁶²

If this suggestion of Manson that the saying is to be related directly with the confession at Caesarea Philippi be accepted, then its Messianic implication becomes especially clear. The argument will run: (1) the *revelation* to his disciples for which our Lord thanks his Father is that of his Messiahship; (2) his *function* as Messiah is to mediate a knowledge of that Father to them; (3) he can do this because underlying his Messiahship is that *unique filial relation* he sustains to the Father and which furnishes him with the requisite intimate knowledge of the latter. On this showing, the "greater somewhat" that brings the Kingdom of God is simply Jesus' unique Sonship to the Father.

But in any case and quite apart from the context proposed by Manson, the intent of the passage as it lies in Q is just this. For the saying in that source was completed with the words as yet unquoted by us: "Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not."⁶³ This is the same technical use of the verbs "see" and "hear" at which we have been

looking in this chapter. What the disciples "see" and "hear" in Jesus' terminology is always the same, namely, the Kingdom of God present in their midst. Matthew, indeed, dissociated this portion of the Q passage from the first part with its reference to Son and Father and their mutual knowledge of each other, and attached it to the discussion about the reason for the use of parables on Jesus' part! There the point had been expressed in the words: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given."⁶⁴ In Mrk, which is the source of that which is merely repeated in Matthew, this saying was followed by the difficult quotation from Isa. 6:9 *seq.* regarding "hearing" and "seeing" and the distressing inability of the generality of men to "hear" and "see." This Marcan context chosen by Matthew for the above-mentioned portion of the Q saying is a perfectly good one, and it serves to throw into relief the nature of the object of the "seeing" and "hearing."

But it is not Q's own context for the saying. That is the one we find in Luke, and it too is perfectly relevant. Moreover, it gives us the new thought about the ultimate source of men's "seeing" and "hearing." That source is the Son in his mediatorial capacity. He mediates the Kingdom by making possible the "seeing" and "hearing," requisite to its acceptance or (and this amounts to the same thing, as we now are in a position to understand) to "knowing the Father," and this in a way which is denied to the common run of men. Why can he do this? The answer is: Because he is the Son and, therefore, possesses the intimate knowledge of the Father which alone makes such mediation possible.

In addition to the two passages from Q at which we have been looking, there is one in Mark, the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen,⁶⁵ which teaches that Jesus is the

Messiah because he is the unique "son." Clearly *sonship* is put on a higher plane than that of "servants" (or prophets) in this parable, for the "son" is sent last of all into the vineyard in the twofold expectation that he will be respected because he is the "son," and that he will be able to secure results in a way not attained by the "servants." Dibelius rejects this and other parables of like nature on the ground that they are not to be understood without allegorization of their original simple meanings.⁶⁶ The entire aim of Jesus' parables, in his judgment, was to stimulate the interest of the hearer and lead him further to inquire of the message Jesus had to present. This idea and the consequent rejection of the parable before us go back to A. Jülicher, who in his *Gleichnisreden Jesu* did yeoman service in dispelling the custom of allegorizing the parables which had obtained in the Church at large up to his day.⁶⁷

But Professor C. H. Dodd has written a most able defense of the parable before us in its general outlines.⁶⁸ He reviews the larger context in which it is placed in the Gospels, and finds that its presence in the Passion narrative, where it follows the several prophecies of his death made by our Lord, is quite intelligible. There would be some standing by, as the narrative indicates, for whom the parable would prove by no means the enigma which Weiss and Dibelius seem to think it must have been if authentic. The disciples had received even plainer hints of his approaching death, and there would be uneasy stirrings among those enemies of his who were already contemplating his destruction! Further, during Passion Week our Lord gave other clear indications of his Messianic claims, as, for example, in the triumphal entry and the cleansing of the Temple. The former of these may not have been understood as symbolic by the general crowd and by his disciples, as we have already noticed, but it was suspected by his ene-

mies that the act had a meaning not readily apparent to the eye! ⁶⁹ The latter also was so interpreted by them. The Messianic implications of the parable before us, therefore, are found to suit the time and occasion and it may be allowed to stand as a certain reference to a unique relation to God underlying the Messiahship of Jesus.

Moreover, there is an eschatological passage in Mark which has a similar import. It reads:

“For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.” ⁷⁰

Here the common term “Son of Man,” which in Jesus’ terminology as we have seen reason to believe means Messiah, stands in anomalous relation to that of “Father” unless it be understood to include in this context the idea of the unique Sonship! It almost seems that we can follow Jesus’ thought about himself as it progresses from stage to stage in this passage. His words run: “me,” “my words,” “Son of man,” “*his* Father.” Does this not seem to say, “I” (am) the “Son of man” (because I am the unique Son), the Son of the “Father”?

These four passages from Mrk and Q appear to establish the thought that Jesus conceived of his Messiahship as based upon the fact of the unique relation he sustained to God as “son.” He knew himself to stand in a special relation to the Father, and, because he knew this, he also was aware that the Messiahship was his. This is the reciprocal fact to that at which we were looking in the last chapter. There we saw that Jesus knew himself to be the Messiah because of the great love for men that welled up within his soul: he knew himself to be the Messiah because he knew

he possessed the only character that could make one worthy — he was man's utter Lover. Here we discover that he recognizes his right to Messiahship because of his awareness of a special relation to God as "son." These are not mutually contradictory; rather, they are complementary facts. Messiahship is a mediatorial function; it looks both ways — toward God and toward man. Hence, it is fitting that from both sides the Messiah should be aware of that which constitutes him what he is. He is the Messiah because he is at once God's Son and man's holy Lover. Lacking either character Jesus would have been unworthy of the Lordship which he exercises over men.

This sense of a filial relation to God on Jesus' part is by no means the exclusive teaching of Mrk and Q. It is found in all our sources, being stressed particularly in M (or alternatively, by the Evangelist of Matthew's Gospel on his own part), and in John. The former of these contains at least 13 references of this character,⁷¹ and the latter a minimum of 34!⁷² Luke's Gospel has five references of its own not duplicated elsewhere,⁷³ and there are at least two others in Mark to which we have made no reference hitherto.⁷⁴ The probability has here to be granted that many of Matthew's instances (which occur in passages in which the other Gospels in their parallel sections fail to read the word "Father") represent an overstress upon the filial relationship of Jesus toward God as his "Father." Nonetheless, a sound critical judgment will not permit itself to be carried away by the recognition of this probability. The evidence for Jesus' sense of his Sonship to the Father is far too strong to be thus easily eliminated.

We shall content ourselves with but one example of the instances in M to which reference has been made. The passage in question reads:

“Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father who is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” ⁷⁵

This is a detached saying, as the opening words indicate. No doubt Matthew did not know where to place it. It furnishes us with a picture of the Church at prayer, and of the Son in the midst as the mediator of the religious experience. This is a redemptive function worthy of the spiritual Messiah of the prophets. That Jesus knows himself to possess the authority for discharging that function by reason of his filial relation to the Father appears from two considerations: first, his use of the term “Father” in this connection to describe the fundamental nature of the bond existing between him and God; secondly, the almost certain reference contained in the second sentence of the passage to the current Jewish interpretation or Midrash of Mal. 3:16. That Midrash is found in a well-known passage in M. Aboth. 3:2, which reads:

“R. Hananiah b. Teradion said: If two sit together and no words of the Law (are spoken) between them, there is the seat of the scornful, as it is written, *Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful*. But if two sit together and words of the Law (are spoken) between them, the *Shekinah* rests between them, as it is written, *Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.*” ⁷⁶

The quotations from Scripture given in this passage in italics are, respectively, from Ps. 1:1 and Mal. 3:16. The

rabbi mentioned lived, according to Canon Danby, just previous to 135 A.D. and died in the revolt of Bar-kokhba. However, it is possible that he is merely repeating a commonly accepted interpretation of the Malachi passage. In any case, it would seem that Jesus has the same passage in mind, and that he is represented as indicating that his relation to the Father is so close as actually to constitute his *presence*, as the mediator of his disciples' prayers, the divine Presence par excellence, that is, the *Shekinah*! This sounds like an utterly astounding claim. But to those who, like Professor Grant, believe that "the spirit of Christ" is "the most real thing in man's whole upward reach toward God, in God's downward reach toward man," will it come as too great a shock that Jesus should have known as much and even on opportune occasion may have whispered it to his disciples?

THE ETHICAL CHARACTER OF JESUS' LORDSHIP

It is clear that the people of Jesus' day would know little or nothing of his sense of Sonship toward God, his Father. Few beyond the disciple band would ever have heard him mention it; fewer would have understood his meaning. At all events our Gospel sources are clear at this point — that Jesus never used his awareness of his Sonship as an apologetic to gain followers. It now falls to add that he likewise never used the knowledge of his Davidic descent or of his birth of a virgin — if he was aware of these — to influence the nature of his message or his call to men to believe in him. His single reference to the former tradition so far as our records go was of a type to disparage the thought that such a claim should be made the basis for one's right to Messiahship.⁷⁷ There were many scions of the line of David, but none of them could claim to be the Messiah! Similarly, if Jesus knew of the tradition of his virgin birth,

he never pressed it. After all, who should have decided between him and any number of pagan demigods and heroes for whom such a birth was claimed! It was the Church that added these mundane traditions to its Gospels; but it had the spiritual discernment to refrain from allowing them to obtrude upon the narrative of Jesus' ministry, as though they had influenced any to see in him the Messiah of God.⁷⁸

The only apologetic Jesus ever used on his own behalf was what Professor Grant has well termed "the spirit of Christ," "the most real thing in man's whole upward reach toward God, in God's downward reach toward man." It was this Paul had in mind when he wrote of our Lord's being "declared to be *the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness*, by the resurrection of the dead."⁷⁹ The italicized portion of this quotation is not so much a theological dictum as a statement of an obvious historic fact for which there was plenty of testimony. Jesus' *power*, felt by all his contemporaries — friend and foe alike — was seen to lie in the crystal purity of his ethical character. "Holiness" in the Biblical terminology stands initially for God's separateness from his creation; but from the great prophets of the eighth century B.C. forward it takes to itself an ethical character. Such a high ethical *spirit* was seen to reside in Jesus; it set him off from all his fellows as "holiness" always was thought to do. He walked among them, but head and shoulders above the crowd, breathing a rarer atmosphere of moral purity.

This *spirit* our Lord allowed to speak for itself and so to advance his claims to Lordship. It underlined his teachings, declaring, "These words issue from a life that is a living example of their truth." It spoke in his acts of mercy, saying, "This man doeth all things well." It manifested itself early in the ministry as a remarkable sort of winsome-

ness in word and act. It was the incarnation of the principle of love, and so it was far more than principle; it was life itself.

There was, moreover, a profound identification of will on Jesus' part with that of his Father. This was, so to speak, the *stuff* out of which the *spirit of holiness* of which we speak evolved. This appeared in the Temptation experience, particularly in the fact that every answer Jesus gave the Tempter involved an explicit guiding "word" from the Father which he took as the will of God and made it his own. It was evident in his sense of having "a baptism to be baptized with" about which he was "straitened till it be accomplished."⁸⁰ The consciousness that never departed from him after the Baptism of being the Suffering Servant, for whom the cross must always remain an anticipation, was witness to this same unity of will with his Father. In Gethsemane he gave audible expression to it: "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me: howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt!"⁸¹ On the cross he resigned himself to its ultimate demand. The cross thus stands as the *symbol*, at once of the complete identification of our Lord's will with that of his Father, a fact of which the "spirit of holiness" was the visible sign, and also of that love which welled up within him and which guaranteed his right to be the Messiah so far as his ability to represent man as his mediator before God was concerned.

This unity of will with his Father showed itself, not only in a passive acquiescence on Jesus' part in what was in store for him as the Suffering Servant, but also in aggressive activity throughout his ministry. Its obvious fruitage was his strenuous evangelistic and philanthropic service. Luke tells us that when the multitude "would have stayed him" on such occasions, he told them, "I must preach the

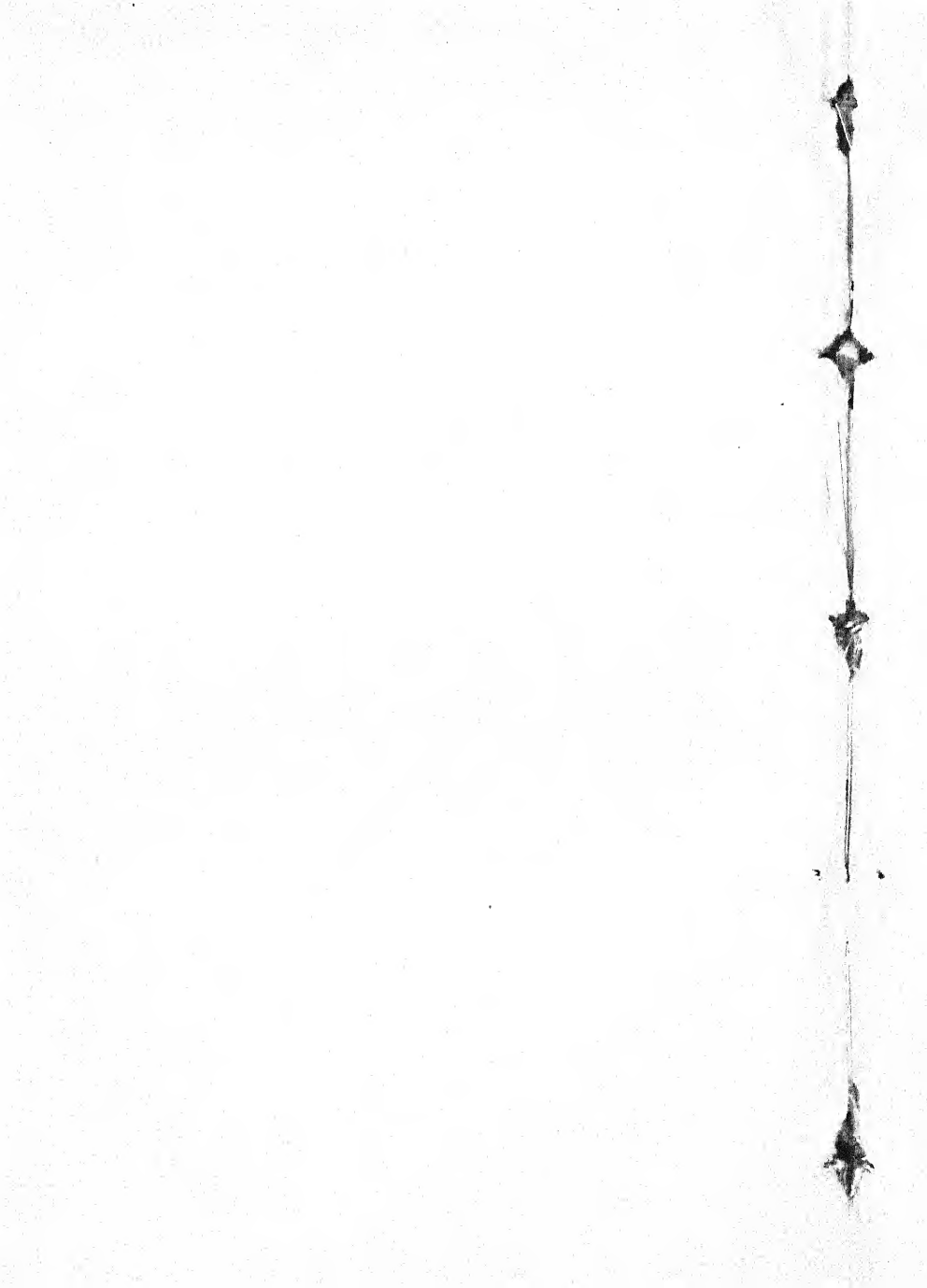
good tidings of the kingdom of God to the other cities also: for therefore was I sent." ⁸² The passage was probably derived by Luke from his Marcan source, where the last clause reads, "For to this end came I forth." Professor Creed comments that Luke "probably rightly" interprets Mrk's clause as just quoted.⁸³ John's equivalent to such sayings is: "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to accomplish his work"; ⁸⁴ "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner." ⁸⁵ Jesus even defined spiritual affinity to himself on the part of his followers in terms of their common determination thus to fulfill the demands of the will of God: "For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." ⁸⁶

There can be no doubt that it was this "spirit of holiness," expressive as it was of the realization of the Kingdom in his own life, that Jesus would have his followers "come and see" in him. It was the objective expression of his unique relation to God as "son." Because he was the Son of God, he possessed within him a "spirit of holiness" that was equally unique, and because of that same spirit, he is the rightful Lord of life. It is in this high moral realm alone that Jesus ever claimed to be the true Messiah of the prophetic voice, and in this sense he is and will always be the Lord of men. Because of the ethical basis of this claim, a basis as universal as human nature, Jesus' Messiahship is as universal as the prophetic Messiah of the Remnant. It knows no bounds of race or people by virtue of its very nature.

The cleansing of the Temple stands as the symbol of Jesus' universal Lordship. The "bazaars of the sons of Ananias" were in the Court of the Gentiles, in which the peoples of other nations than the Jews had access to the

Temple and might use it for purposes of prayer. Accordingly, he quoted Isa. 56:7, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the Gentiles," as his justification for the act of cleansing the Temple courts of those who made it a place of merchandise.⁸⁷ It was clear, however, that in performing this action Jesus was claiming an *authority* over the Temple which could be challenged, and the chief priests, together with his habitual enemies the scribes, proceeded to challenge it!⁸⁸ Jesus refused to give them a straightforward reply because in the nature of things they were not in a position to recognize it at its proper worth.⁸⁹

But we may be certain that Jesus' reply — had he given one — would have been to the effect that he was Lord in the realm of religion and ethics. Because of the "spirit of holiness" that was in him, and which attested his filial relation to the Father, he was the ethicospiritual Messiah of the prophets, the Lord of the conscience and of the heart to all men. Ram Mohan Roy once said of him, "Jesus alone is worthy of the diadem of India, and he shall have it." But his Empire is destined to cover a far larger territory than India; he will have the diadem, we may be sure, of all the world. Is this Jesus of the "spirit of holiness," then, the creation of the Church?



The Intention of Jesus—The Church Fellowship

“ Then I saw in my dream they went very lovingly on together, and had sweet discourse of all things that had happened to them in their pilgrimage.”

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

SYNOPSIS

WHAT was the intention of Jesus? That is to say, What was he attempting to accomplish in all he thought and said and did as the Lord of men, as the Suffering Servant, Messiah?

The advocates of the Social Gospel think he aimed merely at having men carry into effect his ethical teachings, particularly in their social implications. These students do not think Jesus laid much stress, if any, upon his own person; nor did he consider it especially important that men attach themselves to him by any particular belief regarding his person or by any kind of allegiance to him.

Four lines of evidence, however, suggest a contrary view: (a) By direct sayings, (b) by demands for allegiance to himself, (c) by the calling out of a select group, the Twelve, and (d) by the announcement of the Ḥabūrāh, Jesus appears to have aimed at the setting up of a definitive group in which the Kingdom ethic should find realization.

It is concluded, therefore, that Jesus' intention was to set up the Church — a fellowship of those who share the Kingdom experience. This also is unique, the product of an individual activity, mind, and brawn. At the same time, it is prophetic, for this is the Messiah "calling" out his "remnant."

VI

JOHN MACMURRAY has given us a new word, or rather — and this is just as good — an old word used in a strikingly original way. This is the word “intention.” Samuel Johnson is credited with the aphorism, “The road to hell is paved with good intentions.” Such “good intentions,” in MacMurray’s use of the term, are not intentions at all! Ideals they may be, wishful thinking perhaps, daydreams, fancies, castles in the air, or what not. But intentions they are not. For *the mark of an intention is whole-souledness*. It is the expression of all that a person stands for and is striving to achieve. An intention, indeed, *is the person* expressing himself.

To quote MacMurray:

“Human action is intentional activity. The activities of human beings, when they are not intentional, lack the essential mark of humanness. . . . Intentional activity . . . is the unity of two moments, an ideal moment which

we call an intention, and a material moment which we call an activity. These two moments must not be looked upon as two distinct things or events. . . . An intentional activity is, in fact, a single unit of human behavior. . . . But it has these two moments or aspects of thought and activity combined in it, and in reflection we can abstract the one from the other.”¹

In this chapter we shall inquire: What was Jesus’ “intention,” understanding the word in MacMurray’s sense? What specifically was he attempting to accomplish in the world? What was he giving himself to, heart and soul? We have already seen that, as Middleton Murry put it, *teaching* and *life* were precisely matched in Jesus’ case. These are just MacMurray’s *intention* and *activity*, with the difference that Murry’s pair of terms is intellectual and objective, whereas MacMurray’s is ethical and psychological. In Chapter III our inquiry followed the direction of Murry’s interests; in this one we shall pursue the psycho-ethical path suggested by those of Professor MacMurray.

Let us, now, sharpen the problem which lies before us by relating it to the content of the former chapter. Our thesis there was that by word and work Jesus challenged men with the actual presence of the Kingdom of God in their midst. So far, good — but why challenge them? And how did our Lord wish them to respond to that challenge? And what did he expect them to do thereafter?

The most popular answer to these questions during the past generation has been expressed in terms of what has come to be called the Social Gospel. By this phrase is meant that Jesus’ message of the Kingdom of God — the substance of which was found in the two Commandments to love God and one’s neighbor — was in effect a clarion call to realize these ideals in human society as at present

constituted. His *intention* was to confront men with the specific challenge to achieve an ethical character motivated by love in all their social relations.

According to the Social Gospel's interpretation of our Lord's teaching, the simple formula just stated exhausts all he had to say on the subject of the Kingdom. It was open to all and sundry to accept that formula and to attempt to live out its implications, irrespective of their attitude to the question of the nature of Jesus' person. To be sure, it was expected that he would be recognized as the great exemplar or leader or teacher of this Kingdom movement. But an exact definition of one's belief about Jesus was not stressed, and so such definition was made to appear relatively unimportant.

In view of this characteristic attitude of the Social Gospel school as a whole, it is not surprising that certain of its leaders should go farther and minimize or even deny the Messianic office and activity of Jesus. He was essentially a teacher, they hold, a Jewish rabbi — one of exceptional insight no doubt, still only a rabbi as other rabbis. Any claims he is admitted to have made to being the Messiah are explained as the "formal" dress in which, because of his Jewish background and environment, he naturally clothed his thought about his person. Harnack in Germany and Shailer Matthews in America have done much to give circulation to this Social Gospel and to the theory of *Formal Messiahship*.

Professor Matthews wrote that had Jesus been addressing Greeks or had he been raised in a "Greek atmosphere, it is likely that instead of the kingdom of God" and the Messiah, he would have "described an ideal city-state, or, like the Stoics spoken of Nature or Logoi."² That is to say, Jesus chose his terminology admirably to suit his audience. In any other than a Jewish ethos, he would have used

other terms. *And the point of importance for us to note is that the terms do not really matter.* Accordingly, we are at liberty to strip Jesus' teachings of the nonessential form they assumed in a Jewish environment. The term Messiah, among others, has no significance for us; therefore, we simply discard it and with it a halo of associations which it carries. Having done this, Jesus' high ethical and religious teaching stands forth in its primitive glory and becomes available for use in our day as the Social Gospel.

In the absence of the Messianic element, and *ipso facto* of what the Church through the centuries has thought of as the distinctively *redemptive* aspect of the Christian teaching, it may well be asked what fundamental ideas of a religious or ethical character the adherents of this school found in Jesus' teaching. No single answer has been given on this point. Harnack, as is well known, found the substance of Jesus' message to reside in the three points: (a) "The Kingdom of God," (b) the Fatherhood of God, and the genuine value of every personality, and (c) "the higher righteousness." ³ Shailer Matthews, on the whole somewhat truer to the traditions of the Social Gospel, at least as it elaborated its thesis in America, wrote that the necessary and permanent elements of our Lord's thought reside, *first*, in his stress upon ethical character, particularly as it is related to man's "social relations," and *secondly*, in the normative value of his own personality as viewed by Jesus himself. This latter element, he thought, made Jesus "more than human teachers." ⁴

It was characteristic of this school of thought, also, to minimize the importance of the Church or even to discard it altogether. Naturally, if there is no Messiah with redemptive significance, there will be no redemptive society, no redeemed community! Also, where there is no thought of a special attachment to Jesus as more than teacher, the

bonds of fellowship among those attempting to live out the implications of his Gospel will be no firmer than those binding other followers of a single instructor. Harnack was an early and ardent follower of H. J. Holtzmann in denying that Jesus used the term "Church" at all, "for," said he, "it is only put into his lips in Matt. xvi. 18 and xviii. 17, both of which passages are more than suspect from a critical standpoint." ⁶ Had Harnack stopped here, evincing an interest in the problem of Jesus' use of the term from what he calls the "critical standpoint" alone, his denial that our Lord used it would have held no special significance for us here. But he goes on: "Moreover, all we know of his preaching well-nigh excludes the possibility that he entertained any idea of creating a special ἐκκλησία-ekklesia (so Matt. xvi. 18), or that he ever had in view the existence of a number of ἐκκλησίαι-ekklesiai (so Matt. xviii. 17)." ⁶ Here the peculiar anti-Church prejudice of the Social Gospel school betrays itself. Jesus' doctrine of the *Kingdom of God*, interpreted wholly in terms of social ethics, left no room for either a Messiah to mediate the salvation God promised by the prophets of Israel, or a community limited by attachment to his person. The Kingdom concept was as wide as the human race, the social ethic as wide as the human need.

It is no part of our purpose to challenge the deeply ethical note found in our Lord's teaching by adherents of this school. For their discovery of that note, and the impetus they have given to the study of the social implications of the Gospel, they deserve the lasting gratitude of the Christian Church and the world at large. It is largely through their efforts that we have been led to a rediscovery of the true meaning of the phrase "the Kingdom of God" in terms of the moral purpose of God relative to man. Moreover, they have been instrumental in the much-needed ori-

entation of Jesus' teaching in terms of "this-worldly," rather than "other-worldly," a point of view which is more in accord with his original intent.⁷

But to speak of Jesus' Messianic consciousness as "formal" and the Messianic concept as of no permanent or universal validity, and to conclude therefrom that our Lord was merely a teacher, however great, or even that he is the ethical norm for personality alone, is to overlook or to do violence to certain data which serve to define his *intention* in terms of a peculiar type of allegiance which he required of his followers. This evidence suggests that commitment to the rule of God is bound up with acknowledgment of the Messiahship, or — to use the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew term — the *Lordship*, of Jesus. So far is this true, indeed, that the two appear to be identical; or at any rate the one is not to be achieved without the other. Obedience to God's will and commitment to his Kingdom are come at by way of acknowledging allegiance to Jesus. Thus there is cemented a living fellowship between him and his disciples. He it is who, so to speak, *mediates* the Kingdom experience to them! Hence, he is Messiah and Mediator at the same time, and his Messiahship is made to have a genuinely *redemptive* aspect, such as we have seen to reside in the prophetic phrases "Son of Man" and "Suffering Servant."

This thesis is supported by four lines of evidence which converge to show what Jesus' intention was, as follows:

DIRECT SAYINGS

The first suggestion that our Lord represented allegiance to God's rule as intimately associated with attachment to himself appears in several of his sayings and parables. Take, for example, the group of parabolic utterances that emerge in connection with the dispute about *fasting*.⁸ The

question put to Jesus is: "Why do John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?" In his reply our Lord presents three parables: those of the Bridegroom and His Guests, the Old Garment, and the Wineskins.

Numerous scholars, particularly those of the Form Critical school, have suspected the genuineness of Mark 2:19b, 20, wherein fasting is allowed as a religious rite *after Jesus' departure*. C. H. Dodd is inclined to agree with this opinion, remarking, "If the parable meant, as I have suggested, that the disciples enjoy pure happiness because they are 'in the Kingdom of God,' then it is impossible to suppose that the time for rejoicing will soon pass, and the time for fasting return; for the Kingdom of God endures."⁹ This is cogent reasoning and we shall have to admit the possibility that the later Church may have made the additions noted in order to substantiate by a "word" of Jesus its own practice of fasting.

But this leaves us still with the balance — and supremely important portion — of the passage intact, as is generally recognized even by form critics like Martin Dibelius and (apparently) Rudolf Bultmann.¹⁰ Accordingly, it is permissible to point out that in his answer our Lord manifests his concern for both the old and the new faiths. The "old garment" of Judaism is not to be rent farther by putting on it a patch which would eventually lead to its entire destruction. A certain sacredness attaches to the Torah in Jesus' view; he came, not to patch it, but to fulfill it (Matt. 5:17-M) and not "one tittle" of it shall fail (Luke 16:17-Q)! But at the same time, the "new wine" of the new order must not be lost through the attempt to pour it into the old skins of a religion whose day is gone!

It is clear here that our Lord conceives of a new thing as being brought into being through his presence. "The min-

istry of Jesus," writes Professor Dodd, "is not to be regarded as an attempt to reform Judaism; it brings something entirely new, which cannot be accommodated to the traditional system. In other words, 'The law and the prophets were until John; from his time the Kingdom of God is proclaimed.' " ¹¹ Dodd is here quoting another pertinent passage, this time from Q. ¹² It presents some well-known difficulties, which we can afford to pass over, since fortunately they do not bear upon our problem, nor do they in any way obscure the central meaning of the part quoted by Dodd. That meaning, in the words of Professor Manson, is: "It is clearly shown that John is the last and greatest representative of the old order and that, with the advent of Jesus, a new order is inaugurated." ¹³

In him, that is, in his *person*, as well as in his *teaching* and *mighty deeds*, the Kingdom of God has come among men. This is the important point for our present purpose, as well as for an understanding of the incident before us for its own sake. The disciples of John the Baptist and of the Pharisees may well enough fast while their teachers are alive and teaching; this can only be *because they are only teachers*. The substance of their teaching, its value for practical religious purposes, was a thing in itself which might be dissociated readily from the teacher who uttered it. Its worth was of a purely objective sort, just as all scientific teaching is thought to be today, quite apart from any recognition of the name of its discoverer or author.

With Jesus' teaching, however, it was different. Here it might almost be said that the teacher was of more importance than what he taught! While he was present in the flesh, all else paled into insignificance, and men in the joy they experienced might be deemed excusable if they forgot or neglected to perform the most sacred religious duties! The oral tradition as later codified in the Mishnah granted

certain privileges to bridegrooms, as for example, permission to omit the recitation of the Shema, or creed, contained in three passages from the Law, which every pious Jew recited morning and evening of each day.¹⁴ An extension of the same privileges to the groom's friends may have been urged in Jesus' time and he may have been referring to this practice. In any case, the teaching of the incident is plain enough. It is the figure of Jesus as the "bridegroom" which looms up in the picture, and furthermore it is the peculiarly close relation sustained by his disciples to him which determines the rightness or wrongness of their religious attitudes and actions. This teaching of our Lord, then, can hold only one meaning for us, namely, *that he claimed to be the inaugurator of the Kingdom of God on earth and that the relation which men sustain to him determines their relation to that Kingdom!*

There is besides a whole series of passages in which allegiance to Jesus is made the paramount consideration in the thought of his disciples, and it is equated with commitment to the Gospel and the cause of the Kingdom of God. They are to leave home, relatives, and friends for Jesus' sake and the Gospel's,¹⁵ or as Luke would have it, for the cause of the Kingdom.¹⁶ They are to shoulder the cross and follow after their Master,¹⁷ being hated¹⁸ and persecuted for his sake¹⁹ or that of the Kingdom righteousness.²⁰ In the course of this experience, they will be brought before "sanhedrins," "governors," and even "kings,"²¹ and here the principle will apply that "whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it."²² All these passages testify to a close identification made by Jesus of his own interests and those of the Kingdom, its Gospel and its righteousness. The Kingdom allegiance demands sacrifice and even suffering on a man's part, and it is only in following Jesus that such challenge can be met! Hence, Je-

sus claims the utmost in the way of consecration to himself and his aims from those who would be his disciples. And the resultant union between him and them is a fellowship amounting to the closest possible identity of interest. Accordingly, "whosoever shall receive one of such little children in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me." ^{23, 24}

The passage from Matthew's special source, to which reference has already been made on page 106, Matt. 11:28, 29, seems to sum up in a unique way all that we have been saying. It reads, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." It has been suggested that this passage is derived in substance from Ecclus. 51:23-27. Here the divine Wisdom is the speaker, as in the Wisdom Literature generally. And it must be admitted that the passages are somewhat similarly constructed. The use in both of the two technical terms "rest" and "yoke" is especially striking.²⁵ There are, however, equally significant differences to be discovered in the two passages. If there is actual quotation, then it may well be that the quotation is Jesus' own rather than that of the author of our source, as Rudolf Otto has suggested.²⁶ For if there is quotation, there is also *reworking of the passage in a way to fit into the general tenor of Jesus' teachings as above described.*

The "yoke" of the Kingdom was for the rabbis practically the same as the yoke of the commandments (M. Ber 2:5). When, therefore, Jesus, in the passage before us, speaks of *his* yoke, it is clear that he is challenging men to assume a relation of fealty with reference to himself akin to that which they have previously observed toward the commandments, that is, toward the divine Word, or Torah.

Jesus himself is the *new Torah* in his own person, and to own allegiance to him is the same as acknowledging it to the Kingdom of God! The teaching of the passage as thus interpreted is so far in harmony with what we have otherwise observed his teaching to be that neither loss nor gain is secured by our denying its authenticity or affirming the same. If we accept it, as the present writer is inclined to do, it merely serves to place in tabloid form what we otherwise know Jesus to have taught.

To these sayings of Jesus which witness to his creative purpose relative to the Kingdom of God may be added several of the parables. In the parable of the Strong Man, spoken by Jesus when charged with casting out demons by Baalzebul, appear two sayings which are pertinent here. This parable appears in both a Marcan and a Q form.²⁷ We have already referred to the saying which is derived from Q: "But if I by the finger of God cast out demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." This *logion* makes explicit what is implicit in the incident itself, namely, that Jesus is rescuing the distraught spirits of men for the Kingdom. The second saying, from Mark, testifies to the same interpretation of such activities of Jesus: "But no one can enter into the house of the strong man, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house." Jesus has met and bound the Prince of the demons himself — a reference no doubt to his early period of temptation — hence, he is able to rescue men from his grasp, that is, to lead them into the Kingdom of God.

In the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen we have a parable within a parable!²⁸ To begin with, the "vineyard" from the time of Isaiah, at least, had been understood as having a parabolical reference to Israel or the Kingdom of God on earth.²⁹ As Jesus made use of it, he

is himself clearly "the son" who is destroyed and cast out of the vineyard by the wicked husbandmen, the religious leaders of Israel. But curiously enough in applying the message of the parable in this new form, he makes use of a second one to enforce his meaning. This is the parable of the Stone Rejected by the Builders, taken from Ps. 118:22 *seq.* This was one of the six Hallel psalms which were sung at the feasts and which the company of disciples had been chanting on the occasion of the "triumphal entry," two days previous to the Tuesday of Passion Week on which Jesus uttered this parable.³⁰ He no doubt chose this reference because it was fresh in their minds. But it is agreed that by the "stone" the psalmist meant the covenant people of Israel, and this is undoubtedly what it meant to the Jews whom Jesus was addressing on this occasion! In quoting it of himself, the "son" who had been slain and cast out of the vineyard, accordingly, our Lord must have meant that in some way he was to be identified with a new nuclear people of God to displace the old! Beginning with him, the "son" cast out or the "stone" rejected, God would build up the new structure of his Kingdom.

It is relevant here to return to Manson's suggestion that the term "Son of Man" on Jesus' lips may have had the corporate significance which it has in Dan., ch. 7.³¹ Manson argues that in the Old Testament Scriptures, or their prophetic strand, at any rate, all the great figures are corporate ones — the "I" and the "poor" of The Psalms, the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, the "stone" rejected by the builders, the Remnant, and the "Son of Man" in Daniel. Again, when we look at Jesus' teaching, we find him constantly suggesting that the disciple must duplicate the experiences of the master. Both have the same "cup" to drink, the same "cross" to bear. In both sets of passages — those from the Old Testament and those from Je-

sus' teachings — the principle of *identification* or *corporation* runs as a theme throughout.

It is difficult to see how this can be maintained in all cases where Jesus uses the phrase "Son of Man." In point of fact, Manson does not attempt to find the *corporate* sense always present in the term. At times, he admits, Jesus uses it specifically of himself and that in such cases the pronoun "I" may be substituted for it. His argument, however, is impressive. Paul's "man" or "new man" may very well be a translation of the same Aramaic phrase that lies behind "Son of Man" in Jesus' terminology. Moreover, he argues, that *new man* is undeniably the Church taking its start from Jesus himself, the first incarnation of the new principle of life with God which His people are to experience.

This *identification* of interests between Jesus and the new people of God appears also in his actions on numerous occasions and the explanation he gives of the same. He consorted with "publicans and sinners" to such an extent as to arouse comment on the part of his enemies.³² Their interpretation of his choice of associates is well expressed in the homely saying, "Birds of a feather flock together." Had he not been of the same sort, they argued, he would not consort with such people!³³ But when challenged for his own explanation of this phenomenon, his reply was: "They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." Put beside this *logion* two others of similar import: "For the Son of man also came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many,"³⁴ and "For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost."³⁵ All three of these sayings tell us the same story. The "Son of Man" has come to identify himself with sinners with a view to their becoming the new peo-

ple of God. His consorting with such persons, therefore, was *a symbol or acted parable*. John the Baptist did not eat and drink with them, for that was not a part of his mission. But Jesus came spreading the banquet of the Kingdom and inviting his guests to his table; therefore, "he that is but little in the kingdom of God is greater than" John, for he sits down as an invited guest of the Son of Man! ^{36, 37}

These sayings of Jesus make clear his teaching about the Kingdom experience. It is twofold: The placing of one's allegiance in Jesus and the participating in a unique sort of fellowship with the new people of God. He has come, in the first instance, to embody in himself as the "Son of Man" or the "stone" upon which the new City of God may be reared the principles of the Kingdom, and then, secondly, to gather together all those who are prepared to identify themselves with him in the Kingdom experience.

JESUS' CHALLENGE TO FAITH

The second line of evidence that points toward our Lord's intention in his ministry is to be found in his repeated challenges to faith directed both to those affected by his healing miracles and to his immediate disciples. On the occasion of our Lord's rejection from the synagogue "in his own country," Mark observes: "And he was unable there to perform any mighty work, except that placing his hands on a few sick folks he healed them! And he marvelled on account of their unbelief." ³⁸ This incident provides the necessary key to an understanding of what was the *sine qua non* on the part of anyone about to become the object of Jesus' healing ministry. That was a measure of trust in his ability to do what was asked of him. Such faith, as Anderson Scott remarks, "involved a real though it might be a very uninstructed attachment to his person.

It involved such an attitude to Himself as prepared the believer to accept Him as well as the immediate boon of healing or whatever it might be." ³⁹

It may well be doubted whether the Early Church would have allowed such a tradition to stand, in which Jesus' power was represented as limited by the subjective attitude of the recipient of his healing touch, had it not rested on the surest foundation. Matthew, in point of fact, tones down Mark's "was not able to perform" to "did there no mighty work"! But Jesus' demand for faith on such occasions is written into the very fabric of the narrative and occurs in all our sources. It is specifically stated by Mark that it was the faith of the four men who bore the paralytic to which Jesus responded on the occasion of the Capernaum incident.⁴⁰ Similarly, Jesus remarked on the faith of the centurion whose servant he healed at a distance,⁴¹ and *Special Matthew* adds the words, "Go, as thou hast believed be it unto you," ⁴² a saying which, according to the same source, was nearly identical with that uttered to the Syro-Phoenician woman.⁴³ To the woman with the issue, our Lord rejoined, "Daughter, thy faith hath saved thee." ⁴⁴ To Jairus, on the occasion of the report of the actual death of his little daughter, he said, "Do not be afraid, only believe." ⁴⁵ To blind Bartimaeus he gave the command, "Go, thy faith hath saved thee." ⁴⁶ A similar command appears in M as addressed to the two blind men,⁴⁷ and in L, to one of the ten lepers who had been cleansed.⁴⁸ To the father of the epileptic boy Jesus observed, "All things are possible to one who believes." ⁴⁹ Taken by and large, therefore, the principle which emerges in these healing passages is identical with that found in Mark, in the Sermon on the Mount, and elsewhere: "And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive." ⁵⁰

It is true that of all these incidents only in M (at Matt. 9:28) is the *object* of the anticipated faith said to be Jesus himself.⁵¹ Here he asks the blind men, "Believe ye that I am able to do this?" However, he is surely everywhere understood to be the *mediator* of the healing experience from God to man, and if he did not intend that this impression should prevail, he made little or no effort to correct it. The centurion thought of Jesus' power to heal in terms of "authority,"⁵² which obviously he considered to belong to Jesus. Our Lord made no effort to disillusion him, but rather thought his attitude worthy of special commendation. Similarly, the woman with the issue is represented as thinking of the power as residing in him and everything associated with him.⁵³ Jesus commends her for her "saving" faith.

Moreover, when we turn to the content of the faith which Jesus sought to discover in his immediate disciples, we find that the object of their trust is explicitly stated to be Jesus, though not to the exclusion of the Father. And, there is a real continuity observable between the faith of those whom Jesus healed and that of this more intimate group about him. They are not diverse types of faith, but merely the less and more developed phases of the same attitude. An excellent illustration of the way Jesus felt about this principle of continuity is found in his reprimand of the cities in which many of his mighty works were performed. "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which were done in you, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes."⁵⁴ That is to say, in view of Jesus' healing activity in those cities, he had a right to expect faith on their part in his ability both to heal the body and to save the soul. If he can do one, he can do the other; the power is one and the faith should be one. The common factor in both cases is the observation

that a person was helped ("saved"). The question as to *what part* of the person was helped — whether body, mind, heart, spirit — is irrelevant. The same sort of faith is required in any case. The blistering invective adopted by our Lord in this instance is proof that he was incensed because the cities concerned exhibited no faith whatever in his authority to mediate God's saving powers, in spite of the fact that he had performed in their borders "mighty works" of a type which should have called forth saving faith on their part.

That Jesus looked for faith on the part of his disciples in his ability to mediate the "salvation" of God to men, is the specific subject of the incident at Caesarea Philippi. "Who," he asks, "do men say that I am?" That question at once *focused their attention on his own person*, and it had no further purpose than that. It was a matter of academic interest purely what the reply would be. But once their attention was riveted on him, he returned with a question that bared their inmost souls: "But who say ye that I am?" ⁵⁵

We may well believe that Jesus had been all along building up to this question. It did not, so far as he was concerned at any rate, come "out of a clear sky," so to speak. These disciples had been with him over a period of months, possibly of several years. They had seen his marvelous works; they had heard his teachings; they had heard the command, "Follow me"; they had been challenged at every point to open their eyes and ears, to see and hear. They had heard him say that with his healing activity the Kingdom of God was present in their midst. What is more, it had been his express intention that things should be thus with them. It was with this in view that he had taken them with him on his missionary tours. Always, always, therefore, he had been challenging them at every point.

There is a passage in Mark which seems to embody in a

few sentences this entire series of experiences. They are interrogative sentences of Jesus:

"Why reason ye, because ye have no bread? do ye not yet perceive, neither understand? have ye your heart hardened? Having eyes, see ye not? and having ears, hear ye not? and do ye not remember? When I brake the five loaves among the five thousand, how many baskets full of broken pieces took ye up? They say unto him, Twelve. And when the seven among the four thousand, how many basketfuls of broken pieces took ye up? And they say unto him, Seven. And he said unto them, Do ye not yet understand?" ⁵⁶

No doubt on more than the one recorded occasion such experiences as these had brought the question to their lips, "Who then is this?" ⁵⁷ Can we believe that Jesus had intended it to be otherwise? When, therefore, at Caesarea Philippi, our Lord asked them that startling question, "But who say ye that I am?" they were ready with the answer, for that was exactly the question they had been asking themselves all through the months previous! "Thou art the Messiah," said Peter for the band.

It is only in *Special Matthew* that our Lord is said to have commended the group for the faith which this simple declaration exhibited.⁵⁸ If we may assume the essential accuracy of John's narrative at this point, then it would appear that there was a real reason for such commendation. For some of the larger band of disciples were turning away, misunderstanding and mistrusting this One whom previously they had been prepared to make their Messianic King! ⁵⁹ It would be in the face of such popular disaffection that Peter's confession of loyalty to Jesus would appear heaven-inspired. But such open approval would hardly be needed, for it was implicit in the very yearning of our Lord

which called it forth. Moreover, it finds sufficient expression in his instant response to such faith, as he at once entrusts his disciples with the richest secrets of his coming Passion and triumph.⁶⁰

Thus it was that through the space of months our Lord saw the seed of a trusting and understanding camaraderie with himself first bud, then blossom, then break forth into full bloom. As that fellowship matured, he tended it, nourished it, even at times was called upon to defend it. At the last it was strong enough to weather the terrific storm of the week of his Passion! Such courageous faith was not created without adequate cause; it never is. Purposive planning, intentional activity, lay behind this marvelous growth. That faith, therefore, was the product of the intention of Jesus.

JESUS' INTENTIONAL ACTIVITY

At this point it is congruous with our argument to turn to a series of events which are informative of the nature of Jesus' early activities in Galilee. We begin with a question. Why did Jesus "choose" (Luke), or perhaps better "appoint" (Mark), disciples? The answer at first sight seems simple enough. Mark says, "That they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have authority to cast out demons."⁶¹ Moreover, since John the Baptist and the Pharisees had their "disciples," it would seem appropriate that a rabbi like Jesus should also have his!

And yet the matter is not quite so simple as that. There is a striking difference between Jesus' attitude toward the matter of disciples and that of either the Baptist or the Pharisees. There is no evidence that John chose or appointed his disciples; presumably he took them as they came. Those who came to him at the Jordan no doubt

were listed as his "disciples," including, as scholars now rather generally agree, Jesus himself at the first. As for the Pharisees, their disciples were made up of the group who were sent up to the Rabbinical College (the *Bet ha-Midrash ha-gādol*), for their education, or at most included these together with the "pious" who accepted their leadership and attempted to practice what they taught — the "precise" (*Associates*), the Mishnah calls them.⁶² But it was different with Jesus. Both Mrk and L speak of his "calling," and the same sources also tell us that he "appointed" or "chose," his disciples.⁶³ That is to say, out of the large number who followed him from place to place or who listened to his teaching, Jesus, as we saw in the last chapter, took the initiative and selected some for his own purposes.

Our problem may now be sharpened a bit, for the Gospel sources not only tell us that Jesus actually did the choosing of his disciples, but they indicate and are very specific regarding the exact number he chose. Why, then, we ask, did Jesus choose *just twelve* disciples? ⁶⁴ The endeavor has been made, one is inclined to believe without great success, to dispute this figure. The Talmud says our Lord's disciples numbered five and gives their names as "Mattai, Naqai, Netser, Buni and Todah." ⁶⁵ That this should represent an early tradition, considering the fourth and fifth century origin of the Talmud in its two forms (Babylonian and Jerusalemite) is almost unbelievable. Rabbi Klausner has shown in fact that the peculiar spellings of the names here represent misunderstandings of some of the terms used by the early Christians, as well as misspellings of some of their names.⁶⁶

Johannes Weiss suggested that the number twelve represented an endeavor on the part of the primitive Church to make the disciples correspond in number to the twelve

tribes of Israel.⁶⁷ He found confirmation of his theory in two facts: *first*, the difference in the respective readings at Luke 22:30 and Matt. 19:28. The first reads, "And ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel"; the second, "Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." The *second* argument advanced by Weiss was the observation that no two lists of the names of the "twelve" in the Gospels and The Acts are found to agree!

With regard to Weiss's first point, quite aside from the fact that the insertion of the number in "Matthew" is as likely to have arisen from the fact *that there were twelve disciples*, as from the number of thrones provided in the verse, the saying as a whole has to be accounted for, and, indeed, the conception itself! Even in the form given in Luke it is suggestive of a symbolical reference in the disciple band, and it is this symbolism that is important, provided it be granted that it came from Jesus' lips — which Weiss does.⁶⁸ If the symbolism was present to our Lord's mind, then, it stands to reason that he would have chosen the proper number of disciples to make this plain, and whether in this or any other passage of like nature he mentioned that number is relatively of no importance. Even if Luke is correct here as against Matthew, therefore, that does not affect the main point at issue. But again, as Goguel has observed, "Matthew would certainly not have represented Judas as seated on a throne in the Messianic Kingdom," as Jesus is made to do here!⁶⁹ There is perhaps, then, an even chance that Luke omitted the number rather than that Matthew added it. As for Weiss's second point, on investigation the differences in the lists of the names of the disciples simmer down to one, that of the presence of a "Thaddeus" in the Mrk-Matt version as against that of a "Judas the son of James" in the Lk-Ac

lists. This is not serious and may well be due to an early misspelling or to the fact that the man had two names.⁷⁰

Goguel himself finds a difficulty in the phenomenon that Jesus called others to follow him besides the Twelve. These included "the man who wished to bury his father" and the other who would "take leave of his relatives."⁷¹ To these might be added the "rich young ruler" and the general appeals that Jesus is reported to have made for those in his audiences to "follow" him.⁷² Goguel thinks these instances, occurring as they all did after the number of the Twelve had been made up, indicate that "if he could have done so, Jesus would have enlarged the circle of his collaborators."

The Gospels, however, clearly recognize the existence of a larger group than the immediate twelve disciples, who in a secondary sense merited the same title.⁷³ Jesus' ministry would have signally failed if this were not the case. We are told that the Christian movement at the close of his ministry could number a hundred and twenty in Jerusalem alone,⁷⁴ and Paul speaks of "five hundred brethren" as assembled together in Galilee at one of the resurrection appearances.⁷⁵ This larger group of "disciples," which is often mentioned in the Gospels,⁷⁶ was not "chosen" or "appointed" by our Lord "that they might be with him," as we have seen to have been the case with the Twelve. Only if Jesus actually did choose this latter small group, and thereby impart to it a distinctive character, can its existence "and its general recognition (attested by I Cor. xv:5) be satisfactorily explained," as Creed remarks.⁷⁷ Accordingly, we may conclude with Kirsopp Lake that "originally Jesus chose twelve representatives who were naturally called 'Shaliach' ⁷⁸ and often referred to as 'the Twelve.' "⁷⁹

We repeat, then, Why did Jesus choose just twelve dis-

ciples, no more and no less? It is apposite to note that they appear to have been middle-class folk — a taxgatherer, perhaps a member of the nationalist (Zealot) group, an artisan from an inland town (possibly in Judea — Judas Iscariot), and the rest fishers. In other words, they were all simple Galilean peasants, with the one possible exception noted, typical Jews of the middle class with nothing to distinguish them from others of their kind so far as the record goes, by way of either education, experience, or insight. Is it not probable that it was just because of this representative character of the group that Jesus chose them? He wished that they might, so to speak, typify Israel in all essentials. The number twelve would suggest wherever they went with him that Jesus' band of disciples was the typical Jewish circle, the nuclear Israel!

Goguel and Major think the number of the band suggests that Jesus had in mind a "national mission to his twelve-tribe nation."⁸⁰ But such a view depends upon the assumption that Jesus entertained the particularistic and nationalistic notion of the Messiah, which we have seen there is every reason to believe was not the case. Besides, a mission to the twelve tribes, had it been contemplated by Jesus, would not have required twelve disciples to fulfill any more than any other reasonable figure that might be mentioned. Those tribes had long since been scattered in the dispersion and it would have been absurd to attempt to send one disciple to each with a view to its evangelization! In point of fact on the one occasion when Jesus did send them to Israel, he sent them out "by two and two";⁸¹ so that if any symbolism attached to such a mission, instead of twelve there should have been twenty-four disciples, i.e., twelve bands of two each.

The thesis which appears to us to be more likely is *that Jesus wished by means of an acted parable (a) to teach his*

people that of this typical Remnant he would raise up a new congregation of Israel to displace the old one; and (b) to challenge, at once his own disciples, and also Israel as a whole, with the implicit, audacious claim that he had the right to do this as the Messiah of the Remnant spoken of in the prophets! The prophets, as is well known, at times resorted to the use of such parables in action. Notable among these are: the purchase of the linen girdle, the potter's clay, and the two baskets of figs in Jeremiah; ⁸² Hosea's wife and children of whoredom; ⁸³ the crowns and two staves of Zechariah. ⁸⁴ Jesus, true to his prophetic affiliations, would on our hypothesis be following that tradition in adding an acted parable to his verbal ones.

Wherever our Lord would appear with his band of "twelve," *the number in itself* would be proclaiming the Gospel message, the more so as the people were familiar with the custom of the prophets and, as we have seen, reckoned Jesus among their number. "Can't you see," it would be saying to Jewry, "this is the Remnant spoken of in the prophets. Open your eyes and see; this is the Messiah and the new Israel!" It may be that this parable in action more than anything else contributed to the rather general impression among both the crowds and his enemies that Jesus *claimed* to be the Messiah, though the Gospel evidence that he ever made such claim before either group is negligible. ⁸⁵ Professor Creed admits that "the choice of the twelve . . . corroborates other evidence that Jesus thought of himself as Messianic King." ⁸⁶

It is possible, one imagines, that the symbolism is farther carried out in Acts 1:15 in the larger figure of one hundred and twenty, the total of the membership of the early fellowship at Jerusalem. "It can scarcely be an accident," remark Professors Lake and Cadbury in the *Be-*

ginnings of Christianity, "that this number is that of the Twelve multiplied by ten"! ⁸⁷ The Mishnah prescribed that "a congregation" should be considered as composed of ten persons, reference being made by way of establishing the figure, after the rabbinical fashion, to the number of the "spies" minus Caleb and Joshua.⁸⁸ Further, it was enacted that any community numbering twelve times that number, that is, one hundred and twenty, might be permitted a "sanhedrin."⁸⁹ If the author of The Acts had some such provision in mind, then his "about a hundred and twenty" names would mean that this larger group of disciples farther carried out the symbolism represented in Jesus' choice of twelve and that in some way both should be thought to stand for Jewry as a whole. Indeed, the one hundred and twenty with the twelve over it would now for the first time actually symbolize Israel with her twelve judges or rulers, as Jesus had said would be the case in the two passages cited by Weiss.⁹⁰ Little wonder, then, that Peter should feel impelled to have some other appointed to make the symbolic number of the Twelve once more complete. It was more important that the *number* be kept intact than that the choice be one of great merit! ⁹¹

There is rather strong evidence to be found in the course taken by events during the first part of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, which points to *the reason for Jesus' adopting this symbolic method of indicating to Israel the intention of his ministry*. Our sources (here, Mrk and L) differ as to the *time* of Jesus' rejection from the synagogue at Nazareth, Mrk placing it much later in the Galilean ministry than L.⁹² Both agree, however, as to the fact. Moreover, Mrk asserts that the selection of the Twelve occurred after the opposition on the part of the scribes and Pharisees had become acute,⁹³ while L correspondingly places the "call" of

the first four disciples immediately after the rejection! ⁹⁴ The following list will help to make the relative order of events in the two cases graphic:

<i>Mark's Order</i>		<i>The Order in L</i>	
	Mrk		Luke
1. Call of four disciples —	1:16 <i>seq.</i>	1. Rejection at Nazareth —	4:16-30
2. Call of Levi —	2:13 <i>seq.</i>	2. Call of four disciples —	5: 1-11
3. Pharisaic opposition —	2:1-12; 2:18 to 3:6		
4. Choosing of the "twelve" —	3:13 <i>seq.</i>		
5. Baalzebul contro- versy —	3:19 <i>seq.</i>		
6. Rejected in Gerasa —	5:1 <i>seq.</i>		
7. Rejection at Naza- reth —	6:1-6a		

Obviously, Mark thought of the rejection at Nazareth as the culminating incident of a series of conflicts between Jesus and the various groups he contacted. The thought of forming a band of disciples had early formed in his mind, but it was opposition which brought that resolution to a head and may have played a part in suggesting the symbolic number twelve to him. At all events, it was only after the opposition became acute that he actually chose the Twelve and closed the inner circle of discipleship. Luke's special source L had no series of conflicts. To make the point clear, therefore, that Jesus' rejection had genuine significance for the course of his Galilean ministry, L placed that incident at the very beginning of the same, and followed it with the choice of disciples.

Accordingly, each source in its way appears to suggest that the rejection from the synagogue was *symbolic* of the trend of events and the development of Jesus' ministry. After the rejection on this occasion there is no certain reference in any of our sources to Jesus' again entering a synagogue of the Jews! ⁹⁵ Israel Abrahams will not have it that "the freedom of teaching in the Galilean Synagogues

was ever denied to Jesus." He thinks rather that "Jesus voluntarily changed his method when he found that he no longer carried the Synagogue audience with him."⁹⁶ But the above data appear to point otherwise. *It would seem that Jesus considered the Nazareth incident as a definite symbol of his "extirpation" from the congregation of the old Israel.*⁹⁷ This exclusion would not be unanticipated on his part, to be sure. Knowing what he had to teach and to do, he could be certain of the opposition which his work would arouse and the eventual exclusion from the congregation. He would have to be told that these things would eventuate no more than he had to be informed by the "heavenly voice" that he was the Messiah. He *knew* that this would be the trend of events because of his prophetic insight. Hence, as Mark indicates, even before they began to happen, he started to choose his disciple band!

Taken together, these data seem to tell us that as Jesus was in the course of being ejected from among the people of God, he was at the same time taking steps to raise up a new Israel — a "remnant" of the old. The old congregation had condemned itself in judging its Messiah as unworthy to have a place within its ranks. So he turned to the task of gathering a new and worthier congregation about his own person as its center and obvious leader. F. C. Burkitt some years ago arrived at the same conclusion to which we have independently come. Taking one of the series of events showing opposition to Jesus, namely, the healing of the withered hand in the synagogue, as the climax, he observed:

"This event, according to Mark, was the parting of the ways. The religious leaders decide to get rid of Jesus by the help of the friends of the Herodian government; while Jesus, on the other hand, begins to organise His follow-

ers into what was destined to develop into the Christian Church." ⁹⁸

The parable of the Great Feast is Jesus' own interpretation of these events.⁹⁹ He is the "servant" who bids the guests come to the feast — the banquet of the Kingdom of God. When those first summoned begin to make excuse, he turns to "the poor and maimed and blind and lame"; incidentally, these are all one group, as the syntax indicates. They are those of whom the Lord speaks through the Prophet Micah: "I will make that which was lame a remnant, and that which was cast far off a strong nation."¹⁰⁰ Also they are those of whom Joel says: "For in mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be those that escape, as Jehovah hath said, and among the remnant those whom Jehovah doth call."¹⁰¹ He *calls* together this *remnant* of the *maimed*, the *poor* of the land, through his *servant* Jesus, who like them has been *cast out* of the congregation of his people. The parable itself goes farther than the present situation warrants, for it takes in those outside Israel — the people in the *highways* and *hedges* of the world. As Manson has well said, "The whole parable might be regarded as a *midrash* on Isa. 49:6," which reads, "Yea, he saith, It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."¹⁰²

To return to what we have termed the anti-Church bias of the Social Gospel school, if what we have been saying represents substantially Jesus' intention, then it becomes clear that it is a matter of no moment whether or not he actually used the word "Church" in the two passages of M to which Harnack takes exception along with the great

majority of New Testament scholars.¹⁰³ Even if these passages be rejected as unauthentic, the fact still would remain that they enshrine a deep insight into the meaning of Jesus' Messianic activity. Harnack is clearly wrong in asserting that "all we know of his preaching well-nigh excludes the possibility that he entertained any idea of creating a special *ἐκκλησία* — *ekklesia*." ¹⁰⁴ Just the opposite is the case! In the light of Jesus' demands for allegiance to himself, an allegiance by which he bound to his cause a select circle of followers, and of his apparent *intention* relative to a nuclear or symbolic Israel (the Remnant and *qahal*, or new "congregation" of God's people), the reference in M to building his Church definitely finds a place in his teaching.¹⁰⁵ But if the word be rejected as never used by Jesus, on the "critical" grounds of Harnack's thesis, we shall lose nothing. It is not *words* that count but *ideas*; and that Jesus entertained the idea in question, there need be no doubt.

THE "ḤABŪRĀH"

The final lead which the Gospels appear to give us regarding what Jesus' *intention* was is found in one of his last acts performed on earth. This was his presiding at the table as host on the occasion of the Last Supper with his disciples.

It is well known that New Testament students have long debated over whether Jesus did or did not eat the final pass-over occurring at the close of his ministry. The Synoptic Gospels appear to say that he did, and John's Gospel seems equally emphatic that he did not! ¹⁰⁶ Numerous theories have been advanced with a view to explaining this apparent discrepancy, and either reconciling the sources with each other or else demonstrating the superiority of one tradition over the other. It is no part of our purpose here to attempt a solution of this problem. Our concern is to

point out the significant item of agreement in our sources and in all the eventual Gospel narratives of this incident. This is that the Last Supper, whatever else it was, stood as the symbol of a unique type of fellowship between Jesus and his disciples and between the disciples themselves.

Let us notice some of the phrases used in our sources. Here is Mrk: "Where is my guestchamber?"¹⁰⁷ The "my" is significant; it was omitted by a group of Greek manuscripts and by some of the versions, whence the King James Version also leaves it out. But the best evidence supports it and it should certainly be in the text.¹⁰⁸ Probably it was omitted because it seemed to suggest that Jesus had already made an arrangement for this room, and that would cancel any suggestion of the miraculous in the transaction, particularly as regards the knowledge Jesus had that a man bearing a pitcher of water (an uncommon sight in the East!) would meet his disciples at the city gate to lead them to the house appointed.

But the pronoun is very important. This was, indeed, Jesus' "guestchamber," for he was to play the part of *host* at this banquet! The disciples were *his* guests. The descriptions of the scene that follows, as found in all three sources (Mrk, L^{pn}, Jn), substantiate this point.¹⁰⁹ Jesus sits at the head of the table and dispenses the elements to the disciples. L is as clear on this point as Mrk and notes the fact along similar lines. L's statement runs: "And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer. . . . And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves." This is clearly the manner of the host at a banquet. John makes the same point but in quite another way. The Oriental host provided water for the guests to wash their feet on arrival at

dinner.¹¹⁰ A slave was possibly appointed for the task in most households of means.¹¹¹ Jesus far exceeds the demands of courtesy in the matter, but still he is acting as host when he arises from the meal and washes his disciples' feet!

Obviously, this meal is thought of as *a symbol of the fellowship which will finally be the lot of those who attend the Kingdom banquet*, to which we have already made reference.¹¹² This sacramental feast, then, is a little picture of what is to be anticipated in that Kingdom experience. And the Lord presides at the head of the table just as there God will act as host at his Kingdom table! L makes this very clear through a comment made by Jesus on the occasion: "And I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom."¹¹³ In the light of these passages, the Fourth Gospel's allegory of the Vine and the Branches becomes intelligible.¹¹⁴ "I am the vine, ye are the branches. . . . If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and they gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned. . . . Even as the Father hath loved me, I also have loved you: abide ye in my love. . . . This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you."

Whether we read the account as given in Mrk-Matt, in L^{pn} or in Jn, it reads as a fellowship meal which was long remembered for its solemnity and for its deep significance in the light of later events. The Early Church, therefore, spoke of their association as a "fellowship," when they came together for the "breaking of bread and the prayers."¹¹⁵ In the same vein the Apostle Paul wrote to the Corinthians of their "fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord,"¹¹⁶ and when he spoke to them of the Eucharist, it was again in terms of "fellowship," on the one hand, "of the blood of Christ," and on the other, "of the body of

Christ."¹¹⁷ There are the best of reasons for thinking that this latter passage means the fellowship (a) which has been sealed by Christ's death ("the blood of Christ"), and (b) is realized through the living Church ("the body of Christ"). For the *body of Christ* for Paul, unless otherwise specified, always means His Church.^{118, 119}

Now, behind the Greek word *koinonia* (κοινωνία), rendered "fellowship" in our versions, which became one of the words by which the Early Church described itself, lay the Aramaic *Ḥabūrāh*, meaning literally "company of friends." This word was in "current use to describe a group of companions or partners, sharers in a common life (e.g., students at a college)."¹²⁰ Oesterley has, accordingly, proposed that Jesus thought of his little group of intimate followers as his *Ḥabūrāh*, his "fellowship group," and that thence the term passed into the common usage of the Christian Church.¹²¹ He also entertains the idea that the Last Supper was in reality, not the passover, but the Jewish *Qiddūsh*, or sanctification ceremony of the feast day. The present writer, along with others and in spite of what he considers to be the very weak refutation of Oesterley's position advanced by Dr. George Ogg in his recent book entitled *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus*,¹²² is prepared to accept the *Qiddūsh* hypothesis. If this be done, it strengthens the probability that the *Ḥabūrāh* was in Jesus' mind. But this latter idea is in any case strong enough to stand by itself.

That Jesus thought of the Christian Church in terms of his *Ḥabūrāh* is to the present writer's mind established by the type of evidence we have just presented from the three accounts of the Lord's Supper available in the Gospels. This evidence is, as we have seen, supplemented by Paul's words to the Corinthian Church. It becomes permissible, therefore, to note that it was this same thought which the

author of the Fourth Gospel had in mind when he put in Jesus' mouth the words: "Ye are my friends, if ye do the things which I command you. No longer do I call you servants . . . but I have begun to call you friends."¹²³ The Hebrew word for friend was *hāber*, from which *Habūrāh* was derived! The association of ideas here, then, seems unmistakable, considering the Jewish background of either the actual author of this Gospel or his source (according to the critical theory of its authorship which one accepts)!

Incidentally, it should be noted in passing that, if our conclusion about the nature of this feast as Jesus' "fellowship" meal be accepted, then it follows that the old question as to whether Jesus expected it to be perpetuated as a memorial in his Church is also solved. It has often been objected that the clause, "This do in remembrance of me," really has Paul's authority alone for its having been spoken by Jesus.¹²⁴ In the Gospels it occurs only in Luke's account,¹²⁵ and the manuscript evidence for it here is none of the best. It constituted what Westcott and Hort called a "Western non-interpolation," and is therefore considered questionable by most scholars. Hort himself wrote about it, "These difficulties . . . leave no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text of Lc."¹²⁶

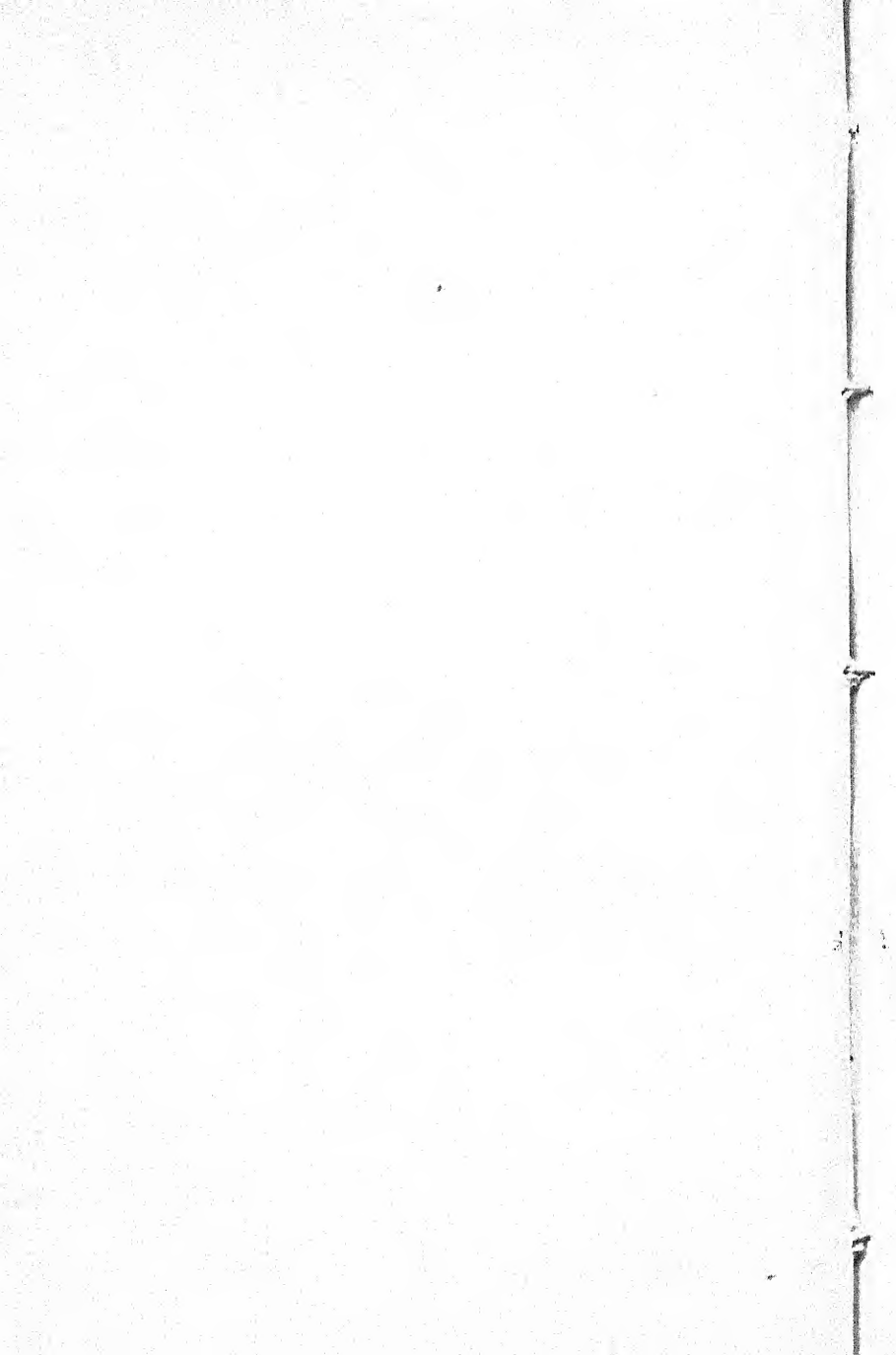
But it is equally morally certain that Paul is right in holding that Jesus did have in mind the perpetuation of the feast! A "fellowship meal" is given for exactly that purpose. Every time it is repeated the old fellowship ties are strengthened, the bonds of love are tied the tighter, and the comradeship is renewed. In coming together for "fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers," therefore, the primitive community was undoubtedly fulfilling our Lord's desire, if not his express command.

This brings us to our final point. We have already re-

marked that the "fellowship" to which this feast bore living witness concerned at once that of Master with disciple and of the disciples with one another. It was not to be a fellowship with the Master as they had known him, but rather as One who had died to seal the love he bore his disciples with his blood. As he broke the bread he said, on Mark's testimony, "This is my body," and, as he handed them the wine, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many."¹²⁷ John has this same motif of humiliation and suffering. He expresses it by means of the acted parable of the feet-washing, in which the Master becomes the humble Servant. Peter's part here in wishing to deny the necessity of Jesus' acting in this humble guise is a parallel to his similar denial at Caesarea Philippi, when our Lord first mentioned the coming experience of the cross. As on that occasion, so here, as Strachan has recently written, "Peter by his refusal to accept this lowly service from Jesus is denying the Christian faith."¹²⁸ The same motif occurs in the words, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," for the *Habûrâh!*¹²⁹

Such was the *intention* of the Jesus of the Gospels and their sources. By direct saying, by parable, through challenging men to an expression of faith in himself, by means of the strange acted parable of the "twelve," and through the establishment of the "fellowship meal," Jesus made it evident to his intimate disciples that he desired to form a group who should live the Kingdom life in the closest fellowship with himself as its Mediator. This *intention* of our Lord was as unique as its fruitage has been exceptional in the religious history of mankind. Yet it was continuous with the best teaching of the "prophetic voice" in old Israel. The Messiah, the Suffering Servant, the Son of Man, and the Remnant concepts all went into the womb of our

Lord's fecund imagination, and the Christian "fellowship," with its mighty potentialities for goodness and righteousness, was born. Can anyone doubt that this Jesus of the Gospels — the Jesus who thought and served and lived and died as that One did — is the *real* Jesus? Can anyone deny that the marvelously unique Lord of the Christian faith produced that faith, and not the faith that Lord?



Epilogue

LOOKED at from one standpoint, the modern theological mood may be characterized as one which is either dominated by the profound influence of the discoveries of the newly developed sociological sciences, or, contrariwise, in revolt against their allurements. To one set of thinkers religious experience is pre-eminently a social event; to another it is at least primarily individualistic. The one contends that all growth in theological thought is the product of a communal fellowship; the other, that the isolated individual alone is creative.

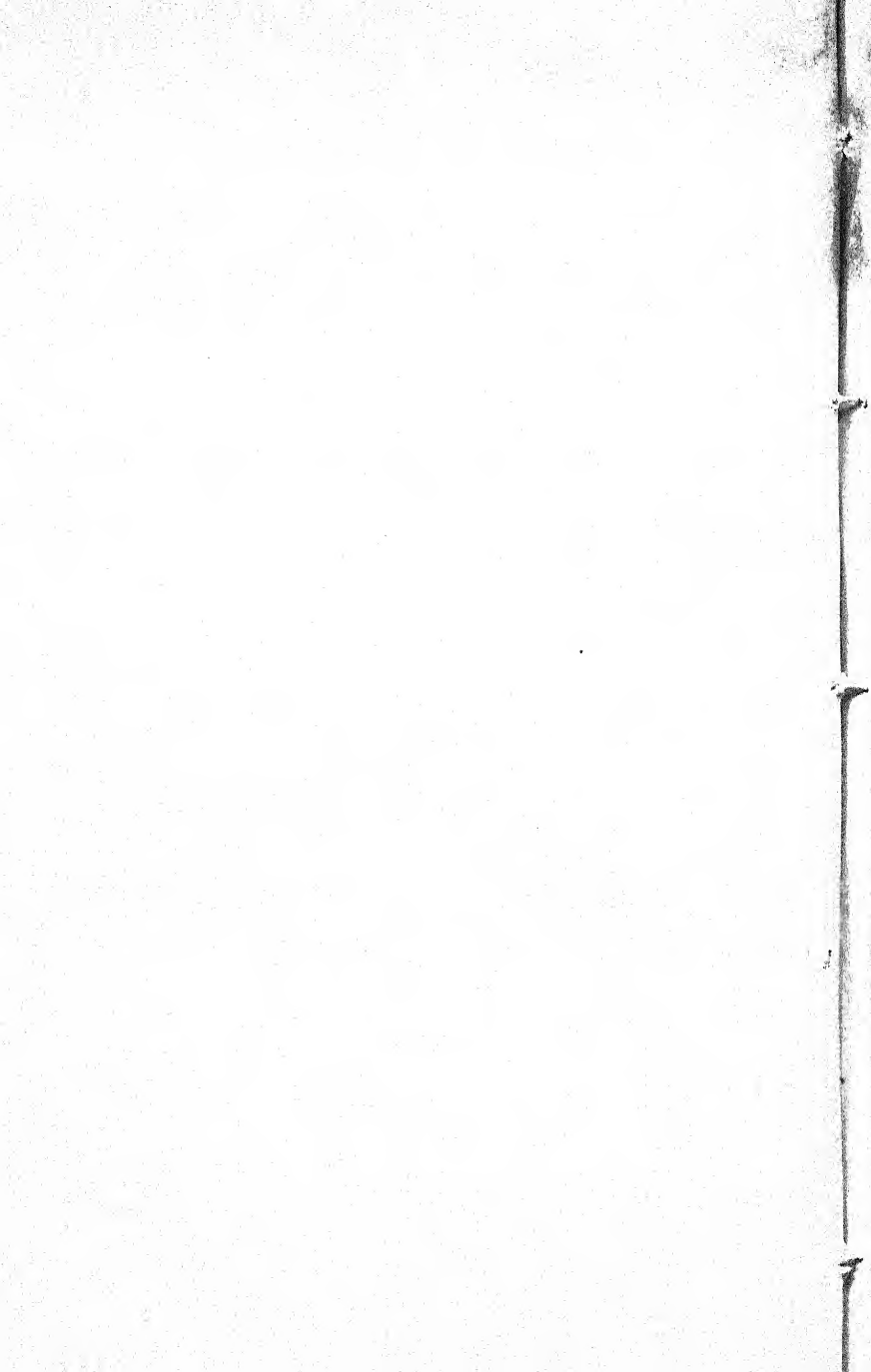
As for the *intention of Jesus*, the sociologists tell us that the Gospel portrait is the work of the community, the individualists that it is the product of a single spirit. Without attempting to pass judgment upon the fundamental postulates of these opposed positions and their relative merits — a work for which the author claims no aptitude — the humbler task has been assayed in this book: (a) of laying bare the true cultural affiliation of Jesus as he is represented to us in the Church's Gospels and their sources, and (b) of exhibiting the resultant portrait of the Gospel Jesus as the product of an incomparable spiritual genius.

The facts we have been able to muster appear to us to suggest that if any community produced the picture of Jesus found in the Gospels, it was not one that was living *at* his time or one that arose *after his day*. Rather, it was the living fellowship of the prophetic culture handed down from generation to generation by a band of noble spirits

who towered head and shoulders above their contemporaries in every age of the Jewish tradition. This cultural group found in the last and greatest of the line One who by reason of his matchless genius was able to gather up the best in the tradition and to make that distillation his own *intention*, to be taught and lived with resolution to the death. This was Jesus. And his originality is nowhere so clearly evident as in the fact that his spiritual insight saw unerringly what would eventuate if the prophets' *best* (which is nothing else than the "gospel" or the "Word of God" speaking through them) were brought together in a single life and so subjected to the subtle alchemy of a personality in which that best should be incarnated.

We have found no warrant for the thought that the Church of our Lord's day or of any subsequent period could have produced the Gospel portrait of such a Jesus. So far as our records go, the early community was peculiarly dull and blind as regards ethical and spiritual insights, and the Church of the late first and early second centuries was only duller and blinder! We find it far easier to believe, therefore, that the historic Jesus was compounded of the two factors — continuity with the prophetic line of the Hebraic culture and the spontaneity of his own incomparably original spirit. This was the real Jesus and this is the Jesus who is the Church's Saviour and Lord, both collectively and individually.

APPENDIX



APPENDIX A

THE PROPHETIC IMPERATIVE TRANSLATED "REPENT YE"

The following list of passages includes all the Old Testament instances of the prophetic imperative translated "repent ye" in the English versions of the canonical Gospels. In the Old Testament the same versions generally translate in either of three ways, which are, therefore, given below in order.

Instances where the prophetic imperative is translated:

1. By "turn ye" in the English versions:

II Kings 17:13; II Chron. 30:6; Prov. 1:23; Isa. 31:6; Jer. 3:7, 14; 25:5; 31:21; Lam. 3:40; Ezek. 14:6 (2x); 18:30, 32; 33:11; Hos. 12:6; 14:2; Joel 2:12, 13; Jonah 3:8; Zech. 1:3, 4; 9:12.

2. By "return":

Ps. 90:3; Isa. 21:12; 44:22; 55:7; Jer. 3:1, 12, 22; 18:11; 35:15; Hos. 6:1; 14:1; Mal. 3:7.

3. By "repent":

Ezek. 14:6; 18:30.

In every one of these passages the Hebrew is *shûb* without exception!

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PASSAGES TO SHOW HOW JESUS WAS REGARDED IN HIS DAY

NOTE: The Gospel sources are generally given after the reconstructions of Professor Grant's *The Growth of the Gospels*, thus: for Q, pp. 74-81; for L, pp. 82-93; for Mark, pp. 143-148. As he remarks, few, if any, have agreed with Professor Streeter's suggestion that M was a written document (p. 190). However,

the symbol is a convenient one to designate Matthew's special material and it is used here for that reason alone.

1. As a *prophet* (see "prophet," "prophesy," "preach") :

(a) By the Author,

of Mark — 1: 14 (Matt. 4:17) ; 1:39 (Luke 4:44) ; 2:2;

of M — Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 11:1;

of L — Luke 8:1 (also by L^{ed}, i.e., "editor," in 20:1?).

(b) By the Crowd,

in Mark — 6:15 (Luke 9:8) ; 8:28 (Matt. 16:14; Luke 9:19) ;

in M — Matt. 21:11, 46;

in L — Luke 7:16;

in Jn — 4:19; 6:14; 7:40; 9:17.

(c) By Jesus' Enemies (in no case with conviction, but in a doubtful way in three cases),

in Mark — 14:65 (Matt. 26:68; Luke 22:64) ;

in L — Luke 7:39;

in Jn — 7:52.

(d) By the Disciples, in L — Luke 24:19 (or L²).

(e) By Jesus Himself,

in Mark — 1:38 (Luke 4:43) ; 6:4 (Matt. 13:57; Luke 4:24) ;

in Q — Luke 7:22 (Matt. 11:5) ; 16:16 (Matt. 11:12) ;
also Luke 13:33 (?) ;

in L — Luke 4:18, 19;

in Jn — 4:44.

2. As a *healer* (see "heal," "save") :

(a) By the Author,

of Mark — 1:34 (Matt. 8:16; Luke 4:40) ; 3:2 (Matt. 12:10; Luke 6:7) ; 3:10 (Matt. 12:15) ; 6:5; 7:30
(Matt. 15:28) ; 9:27 (Matt. 17:18; Luke 9:42) ;
Luke 22:51;

of Q — Mark 6:13 (Luke 9:6) ; Luke 7:10 (Matt. 8:13) ;

of M — Matt. 4:23, 24; 9:35; 12:22; 14:14; 15:30; 19:2;
21:14;

of L — Luke 8:2; 14:4 (also L^{ed} at 5:15; 5:17; 6:18, 19; 9:11);

of Jn — 5:13.

(b) By the Crowd,

in Mark — 5:16 (Luke 8:36); 5:23 (Matt. 9:18); 5:29 (Matt. 9:21; Luke 8:44, 47);

in Q — Luke 7:3, 7 (Matt. 8:8);

in L — Luke 17:15;

in Jn — 4:47.

(c) By Jesus' Enemies, in L — Luke 13:14 (cf. Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15 [Q]; John 11:47).

(d) By the Disciples, *nil*.

(e) By Jesus Himself,

in Mark — 3:4 (Luke 6:9); 5:34 (Matt. 9:22; Luke 8:48); 10:52 (Luke 18:42);

in M — Matt. 8:7;

in L — Luke 14:3;

in Jn — 12:40.

3. As a *teacher* (see "teacher," "master," "rabbi," "teach," "teaching"):

(a) By the Author,

in Mark — 1:21, 22 (Luke 4:31, 32; Matt. 7:28); 2:13; 4:1, 2; 6:2 (Matt. 13:54); 6:6b (Matt. 9:35); 6:34; 8:31; 9:31; 10:1; 11:17, 18; 12:35;

in Q — Mark 12:38 (?);

in M — Matt. 4:23; 5:2; 11:1; 22:33;

in L — Luke 5:3; 13:10 (also in L^{ed} at 4:15; 5:17; 6:6; 13:22; 19:47; 20:1; 21:37);

in Jn — 6:59; 7:14; 7:28; 8:2; 8:20; 18:19.

(b) By the Crowd,

in Mark — 1:27; 5:35 (Luke 8:49); 9:17 (Luke 9:38); 10:17, 20 (Luke 18:18; Matt. 19:16);

in M — Matt. 8:19;

in L — Luke 12:13;

in Jn — 3:2; 6:25.

(c) By Jesus' Enemies,

in Mark — 12:14 (Luke 20:21; Matt. 22:16); 12:19 (Luke 20:28; Matt. 22:24); 12:32 (Luke 20:39; Matt. 22:36);

in Q — Luke 11:45;

in M — Matt. 9:11; 12:38; 17:24;

in L — Luke 7:40 (also in L^{ed} at 10:25; 19:39; and in L² at 23:5);

in Jn — 7:35; 8:4.

(d) By the Disciples,

in Mark — 4:38; 9:5; 9:38; 10:35; 11:21; 13:1 (Luke 21:7); 14:45 (Matt. 26:49);

in Q — Luke 11:1;

in M — Matt. 26:25;

in L — Luke 5:5; 17:13 (also L^{ed} at 8:24, 45; 9:33, 49);

in Jn — 1:38; 1:49; 4:31; 9:2; 11:8; 11:28; 13:13; 20:16.

(e) By Jesus Himself,

in Mark — 14:14 (Luke 22:11; Matt. 26:18); 14:49 (Matt. 26:55);

in Q — Luke 6:40 (Matt. 10:24, 25);

in M — Matt. 23:8;

in L^{ed} — Luke 13:26;

in Jn — 7:16, 17; 13:14; 18:20.

4. As "*Son of God*" (see "*Son of God*," "*Son*," "*Son of the Highest*," "*Son of the Blessed*");

(a) By the Author,

in Mark — 1:1 (?);

in M — Matt. 2:15;

in L^{src} — Luke 1:32, 35;

in Jn — 1:18; 3:16-18; 20:31.

(b) By the Crowd, in Mark — 15:39 (Matt. 27:54).

(c) By Jesus' Enemies, never with conviction, but merely with the words on their lips, thus:

in Mark — 5:7 (Matt. 8:29; Luke 8:28); 3:11 (Luke 4:41); 14:61 (Matt. 26:63); Luke 22:70;

in M — Matt. 27:40, 43;

in Jn — 19:7.

(d) By the Disciples,

in M — Matt. 14:33; 16:16;

in Jn — 1:34 (John the Baptist), 49; 11:27.

(e) By Jesus Himself,

in Mark — 1:11 (Matt. 3:17; Luke 3:22); 9:7 (Matt. 17:5; Luke 9:35); 13:32 (Matt. 24:36);

in Q — Luke 4:3, 9 (Matt. 4:3, 6); 10:22 (Matt. 11:27);

in M — Matt. 28:19;

in Jn — 3:35, 36; 5:19-26; 6:40; 8:35, 36; 10:36; 11:4; 14:13; 17:1.

5. As "*Messiah*" (see "*Messiah*," "*Christ*," "*King of the Jews*," "*Son of David*"):

(a) By the Author,

in M — Matt. 1:1; 1:17; 11:2; 21:5;

in L^{ac} — Luke 1:32; 2:11; 2:26;

in Jn — 12:15; 20:31.

(b) By the Crowd,

in Mark — 10:47, 48 (Luke 18:38, 39; Matt. 20:30, 31);

in M — Matt. 2:2, 4; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 21:9, 15;

in L^{ed} — Luke 19:38;

in Jn — 4:25, 29; 7:26-42; 12:13.

(c) By Jesus' Enemies,

in Mark — 1:34 (Luke 4:41); 14:61 (Luke 22:67;

Matt. 26:63); 15:2 (Luke 23:3; Matt. 27:11); 15:9,

12; 15:18 (Matt. 27:29); 15:26 (Luke 23:37, 38;

Matt. 27:37); 15:32 (Luke 23:35, 39; Matt. 27:42);

in M — Matt. 26:68; 27:17, 22;

in L² — Luke 23:2;

in Jn — 9:22; 10:24; 18:33, 37, 39; 19:3, 14, 15, 19, 21.

(d) By the Disciples,

in Mark — 8:29 (Luke 9:20; Matt. 16:16);

in Jn — 1:41, 49; 11:27.

- (e) By Jesus Himself,
 in Mark — 9:41;
 in M — Matt. 16:20; 23:10;
 in L² — Luke 24:26, 46.

6. As "*Son of Man*":

- (e) By Jesus Only,
 in Mark — 8:31, 38 (Luke 9:22, 26; Matt. 16:27); 9:9,
 12 (Matt. 17:9, 12); 9:31 (Luke 9:44; Matt. 17:22);
 10:33 (Luke 18:31; Matt. 20:18); 10:45 (Matt. 20:
 28); 13:26 (Luke 21:27; Matt. 24:30); 14:21, 41
 (Luke 22:22; Matt. 26:2, 24, 45); 14:62 (Luke 22:
 69; Matt. 26:64; Acts 7:56);
 in Q — Luke 9:58 (Matt. 8:20); 12:8 (cf. Matt. 10:
 32), 40 (Matt. 24:44); 17:22, 24, 26, 30 (Matt. 24:
 27, 37, 39);
 in M — Matt. 24:30; 25:31; 19:28;
 in L — Luke 21:36 (?); 22:48 (24:7 in L^{ed}).

(NOTE: The above list of the "*Son of Man*" passages from the Synoptics, in large part follows Manson in eliminating the following: Mark — 2:10 (Luke 5:24; Matt. 9:6); 2:28 (Luke 6:5; Matt. 12:8); Q — Luke 6:22; 7:34 (Matt. 11:19); 11:30 (Matt. 12:40); 12:10 (Matt. 12:32); M — Matt. 10:23; 13:37, 41; 16:13, 28; L — Luke 18:8; 19:10. This is for the reasons indicated in the text.)

in Jn — (1:51; 3:13, 14; 5:27 — these all appear to the present writer to be on a different level from the ones that follow) 6:27, 53, 62; 8:28; 12:23, 34; 13:31.

NOTES

SYMBOLS EMPLOYED

BX — *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, edit. by Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, 5 vols., 1920–1933.

HDCG — *Hastings' Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, 2 vols., 1906.

JBL — *Journal of Biblical Literature*.

JTS — *Journal of Theological Studies*.

MJ — *Judaism*, by George Foot Moore, 3 vols., 1932–1940.

MM — *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 8 parts, by J. H. Moulton and George Milligan, 1914–1929.

MMW — *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, by Major, Manson, and Wright, 1938.

MSG — *The Synoptic Gospels*, by C. J. G. Montefiore, 2 vols., 1909.

MTJ — *The Teaching of Jesus*, by T. W. Manson, 2d ed., 1935.

CHAPTER I

¹ For a short account of the history of Lent, see *A New History of The Book of Common Prayer*, by Procter and Frere, rev. ed., 1925, pp. 329 ff.

² Joel 2:12 seq.

³ See Isa. 57:18; 61:2 and cf. Luke 6:21b//Matt. 5:4 (Q).

⁴ George Foot Moore has a fine chapter on "Repentance" in MJ, vol. i, pp. 507 ff. His notes in vol. iii, nos. 219-228, are also of great value.

⁵ Joel 2:28 to 3:1 seq. in the English versions.

⁶ R. L. Ottley in *The Hebrew Prophets*, 1929, p. 97, quotes an unknown source as speaking of Joel as the "Old Testament prophet of the Holy Ghost." The LXX follows the Hebrew division of chapters at this point.

⁷ Some modern scholars distinguish two Joels, and separate by several centuries the two passages cited. By the first century of our era, however, the book was treated as a unity. See Oesterley and Robinson, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, 1934, pp. 357 ff.

⁸ E.g., Isa. 11:1-5.

⁹ Ashes were early a sign of repentance among the Jews; hence, the use of ashes on our Ash Wednesday. The Mishnah contains an interesting reference to the use of ashes with fasting and of the accompanying reading of Joel 2:13 (see M. Taanith 2:1). Possibly the Catholic use of the passage and of ashes goes back to this Jewish custom.

¹⁰ Acts, ch. 2.

¹¹ Joel 2:28 seq.

¹² See E. J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 1937, p. 196.

¹³ See K. Lake, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 1937, pp. 68 ff.; M. S. Enslin, *Christian Beginnings*, 1938, pp. 416 ff.; BX, 1922, vol. ii, pp. 125 ff.; and Jülicher-Fascher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 7te Auflage, 1931, pp. 435 ff.

¹⁴ See C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching*, 1936, pp. 97 ff.

¹⁵ Luke 15:11-32.

¹⁶ Luke 18:13.

¹⁷ Mark 1:2-8 and Q (Luke 3:2a-9 [10-14], 16, 17, 21, 22//Matt. 3:1b-4, 7b-10, 11, 12, 16, 17). On John's use of the term Holy Spirit, see n. 47.

¹⁸ The "temptation" is clearly stated as the *purpose* of his entering the wilderness only in Q (Luke 4:2//Matt. 4:1), though it is probably implied in Mark 1:13. *Fasting* also is mentioned in Q alone. On the Holy Spirit, see n. 47.

¹⁹ See BX, vol. v, p. 360; J. G. Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion*, 1921, ch. viii, pp. 293-317; W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 2d ed., 1921; F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, 1924, pp. 42-52. See further under Ch. III, n. 1.

²⁰ A. S. Peake, *The Servant of Yahweh and Other Lectures*, 1931, p. 214.

²¹ Mark 8:28 and parallels.

²² A. S. Peake, *op. cit.*, p. 210; Martin Dibelius, *The Message of Jesus Christ*, 1939, p. 183. For the historicity of Jesus' baptism, cf. MSG, vol. i, pp. 10 ff.; M. Goguel, *The Life of Jesus*, 1933, pp. 269 ff.

²³ I Cor. 15:1-11.

²⁴ Acts 2:22-32.

²⁵ Mark 6:3b.

²⁶ Mark 3:21.

²⁷ Mark 3:22.

²⁸ Luke 3:23.

²⁹ M. Aboth 5:21.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

³¹ Cf. art. "Sinlessness" in HDCG for bibliography; also O. Borchert, *The Original Jesus*, 1936, part iii, ch. i, pp. 330 ff.; and R. E. Hume, *The World's Living Religions*, 1925, pp. 242 ff. The Talmud and Josephus claimed Jesus to have been an "exorcist," and the former cast aspersions on his birth as being by a Roman soldier named Ben Pandera (see J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1925, pp. 23 f.).

³² James MacKinnon, *The Historic Jesus*, 1931, p. 62, n. 5.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 62; cf. also O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus*, 1904, p. 133.

³⁴ H. P. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, 9th ed., 1882, p. 168, n. 2; A. B. Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ*, 1876, pp. 288 ff.

³⁵ T. H. Robinson, *Com. on Matthew*, 1920, pp. 15 ff.; also Goguel, *op. cit.*, pp. 264 ff.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 62, n. 5.

³⁷ Luke 3:6 (L, quoting Isa. 40:5 in the LXX), "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God"; cf. Mark 1:4, "unto remission of sins," a phrase equated by the Church with "redemption," for which see Col. 1:14; Eph. 1:7.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

³⁹ *Life*, para. 2.

⁴⁰ Josephus' words are: "For Herod slew him [John], who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism," *Antiquities* xviii. 5, 2.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 494 ff.; also MTJ, App. iii, pp. 324 f.

⁴² *Special Matthew* (M) takes, perhaps, an overstrong attitude in this matter at Matt., ch. 23, etc.; cf. MTJ, p. 36. However, this will be merely an overstress on a genuine element in Jesus' teaching; cf. parable of Pharisee and Publican in Luke 18:9-14 (L), parable of Wicked Husbandmen, Mark 12:1-12, and the controversy with scribes and Pharisees in Luke 11:39b-44, 46-52 (Q).

⁴³ Luke 3:8//Matt. 3:8.

⁴⁴ See C. A. A. Scott, *Christianity According to St. Paul*, 1939, pp. 114, 115, and n. 1; E. P. Gould, *Com. on Mark*, 1922, p. 6; J. Skinner, *Com. on Isaiah*, 1898, vol. ii, App. ii, pp. 238-242; also C. H. Dodd, *Com. on Romans*, 1932, pp. 11 ff., 51 ff.

⁴⁵ Skinner cites Isa. 46:12; 54:17; 57:12; then, chs. 61:10; 62:1; 58:8; 62:2; finally, chs. 48:18; 60:17; 45:24, 25, as respectively illustrative of these con-

ceptions. The Powis Smith translation adopts the same view throughout. To Skinner's passages, add ch. 51:4, 5 for the parallelism which serves to define righteousness in the final sense of "salvation."

⁴⁶ Luke 3:6 (L, quoting Isa. 40:5 in LXX).

⁴⁷ On the basis of Acts 19:1 *seq.*, it has been questioned whether the Baptist ever spoke of baptism with the Holy Spirit. Mark 1:8 makes him speak of "Holy Spirit," but Q had "fire" only, apparently (cf. Luke 3:16//Matt. 3:11), and Matthew and Luke conflate the two sources. Similarly, Q alone makes John speak in terms of *social righteousness*, and Mark only in those of *forensic justification*.

⁴⁸ Cf. Mark 7:1-13//Matt. 15:1-6.

⁴⁹ Matt. 3:15; 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33; 21:32. Cf. John 16:8, 10. Note the possible exception of Matt. 5:6 (M or Q?), cited below, and see discussion of the passage in C. F. Burney's *The Poetry of Our Lord*, pp. 165 ff.

⁵⁰ Matt. 5:48//Luke 6:36.

⁵¹ Matt. 5:3 *seq.*; Luke 6:20 *seq.*

⁵² Luke 18:13.

⁵³ Luke 15:11-32.

⁵⁴ Luke 19:1-10. Passages like Mark 2:17, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners," Luke 15:7 (L), Matt. 18:12-14 (M), are evidence that Jesus' definition of the word differed from that of the Pharisees.

⁵⁵ Explicitly, of course, only in M (Matt. 3:2), but implicitly in Mark 1:4.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 510, and vol. iii, p. 219, n.; cf. also Brown, Driver, and Briggs's *Lexicon*.

⁵⁷ Mark 1:15//Matt. 4:17; Mark 6:12; (Q) Luke 10:13//Matt. 11:20, 21; (Q) Luke 11:32//Matt. 12:41; (L) Luke 13:3, 5; (L) Luke 15:7, 10; (L) Luke 16:30; (Q) Luke 17:3, 4; (M) Matt. 3:2.

⁵⁸ Cf. I Kings 18:21 with Mal. 4:5, 6; cf. Mark 9:11-13; cf. Matt. 11:14 (M) with Luke 1:17 (L). His task would be to "turn" (*shüb*) fathers and children to each other after the Lord's will.

⁵⁹ The Hebrew was *shüb min*, that is, "turn (or, repent) from," and not "for" or "of," sin.

⁶⁰ R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, 1935, p. 23; also W. Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, 2d ed., 1917, p. 38.

⁶¹ Matt. 3:14, 15 (M).

⁶² Cf. also *Gospel Accord. to the Hebrews* in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924, p. 6.

⁶³ Principal Major in MMW, p. 23.

⁶⁴ Montefiore in MSG, vol. ii, p. 16.

⁶⁵ Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 133, n. 2.

⁶⁶ See A. C. Headlam, *The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ*, 1923, p. 146 and n.; G. H. C. MacGregor, *Com. on John*, at John 1:33; M. Goguel, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 f.

⁶⁷ MMW, p. 442.

⁶⁸ The "voices" of Scripture appear generally to *confirm* what is already known, rather than to *impart* absolutely new information. One is reminded of Leibnitz' little "windows" of the soul that *let in* truth because of their inherent affinity for it!

⁶⁹ Quoted by F. C. Grant, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, 1940, p. 48.

⁷⁰ MSG, vol. i, p. 19.

⁷¹ See Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 137; MSG, vol. i, p. 11; Headlam, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 f.; MacKinnon, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁷² *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, 9te Auflage, 1936, p. 13.

⁷³ *Com. on Ephesians*, 2d ed., 1922, App. on "The Beloved," pp. 229-233.

⁷⁴ See MTJ, pp. 196 ff.

CHAPTER II

¹ A complete account of the "parties" to be found in the Judaism of Jesus' day would require some mention of the Essenes and Herodians. The former, however, are never mentioned in the canonical Gospels, and the latter only twice: Mark 3:6; 12:13//Matt. 22:16. That either group had any considerable influence on Jesus, therefore, is not open to serious consideration. They are here ignored.

² The most widely accepted derivation is from Zadok, the high priest in Solomon's day (I Kings 2:35). Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*, 1932, vol. ii, p. 322, n. i. For another explanation, see MJ, vol. i, pp. 68 f.

³ *Antiquities* xiii. 5, 9.

⁴ For example, by Oesterley, *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 282 f. He agrees that by the time of Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.) they were extant as a distinct party.

⁵ It is significant that a variant reading of "heretics" exists for nearly every reference to the Sadducees to be found in the Mishnah, including all those given in n. 6! No doubt this indicates the rabbinical estimate of this group.

⁶ Our authorities for them are the Gospels, Josephus, and the Mishnah; see M. Berakot 9:5; M. Erubin 6:2; M. Hagigah 2:4; M. Makkoth 1:6; M. Parah 3:3, 7; M. Niddah 4:2; M. Yadaim 4:6, 7, 8.

⁷ *Antiquities* xiii. 10, 6; xviii. 1, 4.

⁸ See Headlam, *Life*, p. 110; and also MJ, vol. i, pp. 70 ff.

⁹ For an intimate view of the Sadducees' high living, see Sholem Asche, *The Nazarene*.

¹⁰ *Wars of the Jews* ii. 8, 14; cf. Mark 14:65 seq.; Acts 23:2; Mark 11:15-18, 28.

¹¹ See MMW, p. 107.

¹² Matt. 4:15; cf. Isa. 9:1, 2.

¹³ For a repudiation of the Ben Pandera slander, see Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, pp. 23 ff.

¹⁴ See W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 1940, pp. 306, 307.

¹⁵ See G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1902, pp. 1-88.

¹⁶ J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3d ed., 1919, vol. i, *Prolegomena*, p. 8.

¹⁷ MTJ, p. 46.

¹⁸ Cf. Mark 5:41 (*Talitha cumi*); 7:34 (*Ephphatha*); 14:36 (*Abba*); 15:34 (*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*); for a complete list, see Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. i, pp. 15-22, n. 3.

- ¹⁹ Acts 1:19; 21:40; 22:2; 26:14.
- ²⁰ See HDCG, art. "Language of Christ," by Young.
- ²¹ C. C. Torrey holds also that the canonical Gospels were probably circulating in Palestine in Aramaic before the destruction of Jerusalem; see his *Documents of the Primitive Church*, 1941, pp. 98-111.
- ²² Goguel, *Life*, p. 261.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 262.
- ²⁴ See especially Luke 4:16-20; Mark 5:22.
- ²⁵ See MJ, vol. i, p. 289 and n. 59; also M. Sotah 7:7, 8; M. Yoma 7:1.
- ²⁶ M. Megillah 4:4; cf. MJ, vol. i, p. 303 and n. 79.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 316, and vol. iii, p. 104, n. 92; cf. Jer. Ketubot 32c.
- ²⁸ Mark 12:14, 32; 9:17.
- ²⁹ See MTJ, p. 49, n. 2; also R. H. Strachan, *Fourth Gospel*, 3d ed., 1942, pp. 174-176.
- ³⁰ See Canon Wade, *The Documents of the New Testament*, 1934, *ad loc.*; MM in their article on *gramma* (γράμμα, letter), write, "With the biting scorn of the superior person, these learned fools affect to regard Jesus and his disciples as 'illiterates.'"
- ³¹ See W. F. Albright, *Stone Age*, pp. 300-308; also F. C. Grant, *Gospel*, pp. 120 ff.
- ³² So MJ, vol. ii, p. 280.
- ³³ So H. Wheeler Robinson in *Companion to the Bible*, 1939, p. 308.
- ³⁴ So MJ, vol. ii, p. 280.
- ³⁵ Cf. Oesterley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 319.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 320 f.; cf. also MJ, vol. ii, p. 281.
- ³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 305; cf. also pp. 287 ff.
- ³⁸ See The Revelation and the extracanonical Apocalypses of the Early Church period.
- ³⁹ Torrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.
- ⁴⁰ Luke 10:18 (L) is no exception to this statement; the passage probably means, "I was watching Satan as a star fall from heaven" while you (the "Seventy") were preaching the Gospel with power!
- ⁴¹ Manson's list follows: Mark, ch. 13; Mark 8:38 and the Q parallel in Matt. 10:32 *seq.*//Luke 12:8 *seq.*; Luke 17:23-30//Matt. 24:26-28, 37-39 (Q); Matt. 24:30a (M); Matt. 25:31-46 (M); Luke 21:34-36 (L); Luke 12:25-46//Matt. 24:43-51 (Q); Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69 (L); Matt. 19:28 (M). Cf. *Teaching of Jesus*, 2d ed., 1935, pp. 260 ff.
- ⁴² Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
- ⁴³ Mark 13:14.
- ⁴⁴ Torrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19; the present writer does not agree with Torrey's further interpretation of the passage.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. further N. P. Williams in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 1911, pp. 416 f. Williams then thought Mark, ch. 13, to be from Q.
- ⁴⁶ See James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 3d ed., 1920, p. 209.
- ⁴⁷ Q.v., pp. 416 f.; cited by Torrey, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- ⁴⁸ See MTJ, p. 262.
- ⁴⁹ Verse references are to Mark, ch. 13, unless indicated.
- ⁵⁰ Mal. 3:1.

⁵¹ Matt. 24:3 (M).

⁵² The reading "it" in v. 29 is to be preferred to "he."

⁵³ Torrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

⁵⁴ The Church later saw the fulfillment of Malachi's "Lord come to his Temple" in the Spirit's indwelling in the Church; see I Cor. 3:16 and II Cor. 3:18. See Ch. IV, n. 66.

⁵⁵ Luke 13:1-5.

⁵⁶ *Antiquities* xviii. 3, 1 *seq.*

⁵⁷ We should like to associate ourselves with the point of view of Rudolf Otto in this whole matter of prophecy and our Lord's use of it, as he has outlined his view in the chapter entitled "The Charisma of Prophecy" in his *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man*, transl. from the German by Floyd V. Filson and B. L. Woolf; cf. especially pp. 357, 358. Our argument on pp. 58 ff. assumes some sort of identification in the apostles' mind between Messiah and the "Lord" of Malachi, and of both with Jesus. No doubt at even this late period in the ministry no exact formulation of the nature of this equation could have been made by the disciples.

⁵⁸ See also Ch. IV, n. 14.

⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that Paul's teaching in I Thess. 5:1-11, which seems to have been derived from the Marcan passage discussed in the text, like our Lord's on the interpretation herein proposed, lays stress on the need of "watching" rather than on "signs" of the Lord's coming.

⁶⁰ MJ, vol. i, p. 283; cf. vol. ii, pp. 12 ff.

⁶¹ I Macc., ch. 2; cf. Moore, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 59 ff. and 286.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ MJ, vol. i, p. 286.

⁶⁵ *Antiquities* xiii. 10, 6.

⁶⁶ *Antiquities* xviii. 1, 6; cf. also xviii. 1, 1 and 2; xx. 5, 2; *Wars of the Jews* ii. 8, 1, *et passim*. See also Oesterley, *A History of Israel*, vol. ii, pp. 366 ff.

⁶⁷ See Oesterley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 315 ff.

⁶⁸ See Grant, *Gospel*, p. 130, and Klausner, *Life*, pp. 199 ff.

⁶⁹ MSG, vol. i, p. 75.

⁷⁰ Hos. 6:6.

⁷¹ Mark 11:30.

⁷² Mark 12:1-12.

⁷³ I Cor. 2:12.

⁷⁴ Isa. 9:14, 15; cf. Hos. 9:7, 8 and I Kings 13:11 *seq.*; Gal. 1:8.

⁷⁵ Cf. also G. Dalman, *Words*, pp. 297-299.

⁷⁶ Ezek., chs. 25 to 32.

⁷⁷ Ezek. 36:22-38.

⁷⁸ Ezek. 36:22, 32, etc.

⁷⁹ Ezek. 37:24, 25; cf. ch. 34:24.

⁸⁰ See, for example, V. H. Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, 1886, pp. 99 ff.; John Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, 1930, p. 311; A. C. Knudson, *The Religious Teaching of the Old Testament*, 1918, pp. 371 ff.

⁸¹ C. F. Burney, *Outlines of Old Testament Theology*, 1930, pp. 99, 100.

⁸² I Kings, ch. 19; cf. Rom. 11:1-5.

⁸³ Amos 5:15; Isa. 1:9; 10:20-22; 11:11, 16; Micah 4:7; 5:3, 7, 8; Jer. 6:9; 23:3; 31:7; Zeph. 2:7, 9; 3:13; Isa. 46:3; Zech. 8:6, 12; Ezra 9:8, 14; Joel 2:32; cf. also Hos. 1:10; 2:23.

⁸⁴ MTJ, p. 177.

⁸⁵ Jer. 31:31-34.

⁸⁶ See *The Hebrew Prophets*, p. 115; also George Adam Smith, *Jeremiah*, 1923, pp. 367-380.

⁸⁷ Ottley, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁸⁸ Cf. MTJ, pp. 176 f., 227 ff.

⁸⁹ Cf. G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Band iv, pp. 198 ff., art. "λείμμα"; see esp. the sections entitled "Der 'Rest' und die Völker" and "Restgemeinde und Messias." Cf. pp. 214 f.

⁹⁰ Heb. 12:2.

CHAPTER III

¹ Acts 3:13-26; 4:27-31; cf. Matt. 12:18 (M) and I Cor. 2:2 for the Greek form below.

² So, for example, Dalman, *Words*, pp. 329-331; but cf. MacKintley Helm, *After Pentecost*, 1936, pp. 48 ff., for the contrary view. For the equation Messiah=Lord, see Mark 12:35-37; Luke 2:11 (L); and Acts 2:36; Luke 6:46//Matt. 7:21 (Q). Professor Dillistone has called my attention to an article by R. A. Aytoun in JTS, vol. xxiii, for Jan., 1922, pp. 172-180, entitled "The Servant of the Lord in the Targum." Mr. Aytoun quotes the Targum of Jonathan bar Uzziel (1st cent. B.C.), on Isa. 52:13 to 53:12, and shows that, to quote his conclusions, "the Servant is specifically identified by the Targumist with the Messiah" (p. 174). He thinks that, though this Targum did not reach its final form until the 5th cent. of the Christian Era, yet its essential content must be pre-Christian and the identification referred to will have been "known to our Lord and His circle" (p. 176).

This is a very interesting and arresting discovery, it must be conceded. And the argument advanced relative to the content of the Targum being essentially known long before the final written form which it attained is quite in line with the usual conclusions of modern literary criticism in the field of the rabbinical literature. However, the case is by no means so damaging to our thesis in this book as might at first appear. For, *first*, whatever Jonathan may have intended by this identification, it certainly made no difference to the popular conception of the Messiah as held in our Lord's day, or before or afterward; otherwise, our whole understanding of the popular conception will have to be overhauled in the light of this fact; *secondly*, Mr. Aytoun himself has to admit that the Servant who is here identified with the Messiah is by no means the Servant as he is portrayed in the Deutero-Isaiah! The Targum alters the picture entirely. Mr. Aytoun's words are, "However, all hint of sufferings and death has been carefully eliminated" (p. 175), and the Servant-Messiah becomes "a wholly Triumphant Messiah" (p. 177)! Only at one place, it seems, the author of the Targum signally fails to eliminate the note of "death," and so "it virtually leaves a statement that the Messiah had submitted to death"

(p. 177). Is it too bold to assume that the reason the Targumist slips up at this point is just that, with the people generally, he has been so accustomed to interpret the "Servant" as representing Israel as a whole, rather than as an individual Messiah, that he unconsciously lapses into the old way of thinking and so sees after all no incongruity in the Servant's (i.e., the suffering people's) death? At all events, his endeavor to weed out any thought of suffering and death as applicable to the Servant as the Messiah is clearly in line with the ordinary conception of the latter. So that, after all, we have to await Jesus' interpretation of the Messiah in line with an accurate delineation of the *Suffering Servant* as contained in the Deutero-Isaiah.

Since I wrote the above, Professor Dillistone has also sent me the following quotation from H. Wheeler Robinson's new volume, *Redemption and Revelation*, which I have not been able as yet to examine. The judgment of this scholar will be found to accord with my own:

"There has been no success in all the endeavours made to find previous or contemporary identification of the Messiah with the suffering servant of Yahweh. The Targum of Jonathan for Isaiah liii does give a Messianic application to some parts of the chapter, but, by a most artificial ingenuity, ascribes all the suffering to the people, not to its Messiah. This is very significant for the main line of tradition. There is no evidence of a suffering Messiah in previous or contemporary Judaism to explain the conception in the consciousness of Jesus" (p. 199).

³ Cf. *The Man Christ Jesus*, 1941, pp. 67, 68.

⁴ Cf. BX, vol. v, pp. 360 ff.; Machen, *Origin*, ch. viii, pp. 293-317.

⁵ This theory really goes back of Wrede to Lagarde, Volkmar, and James Martineau; in modern times it was held by Wellhausen, N. Schmidt, and R. Bultmann. A chief exponent of it in America is Shirley Jackson Case; see his *Jesus—A New Biography*, 1927, pp. 375-378, and JBL, 1927, vol. xlii, pp. 1-19.

⁶ In *The Gospel Before the Gospels*, 1928, p. 118.

⁷ See the entire argument of C. H. Dodd's *Apostolic Preaching*.

⁸ P. 66.

⁹ P. 129.

¹⁰ Pp. 154-157.

¹¹ P. 129.

¹² See Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 65, and Grant, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 154, *et al.* Of course, they know and refer to the apocalyptic "Son of Man," but Grant, at any rate, thinks this concept limited to a small circle of readers (cf. p. 130).

¹³ Ps. 86:15; cf. Ps. 103:8 *passim*.

¹⁴ John 1:17.

¹⁵ Matt. 12:43-45.

¹⁶ We place *kat' exousian* with what precedes rather than with what follows, since this serves to harmonize the verse with v. 22 above. Gould agrees (cf. his *Mark* in the Inter. Crit. series). Luke 4:32 is parallel to Mark 1:22 and so is Matt. 7:28b, 29, though the latter evangelist has removed the saying to the close of his Sermon on the Mount. Luke 4:36 is parallel to Mark 1:27 and adopts the common interpretation of that verse, rather than the one here suggested!

17 Cf. similar statement in Mark 11:18 and Matt. 22:33. Luke 19:48 (Led) has "they were hanging on [his words]."

18 See B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1930, p. 291, and MTJ, pp. 29 ff.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

20 Cf. Moffatt's translation of Luke 4:22 and Armitage Robinson's note on *charis* in his *Com. on Ephesians*, p. 223.

21 *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, First Series, 1917, pp. 1-17.

22 Mark 6:3 *seq.*

23 Mark 9:40 and Luke 11:23 // Matt. 12:30 (Q).

24 Luke 12:51-53 // Matt. 10:34-39 (Q).

25 This is Mark as we now have it, the writer agreeing that Streeter has laid the "ghost" of the "Ur-Markus" theory of the older generation of scholars; cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff., 305.

26 Mark 9:36; 10:13, 14.

27 Luke 2:52 (L); the word for "favor" here is *charis*.

28 In the extracanonical "Wisdom Literature" *charis* occurs oftener than in the canonical O. T. Scriptures. The count for the two words is in part as follows:

	<i>eleos</i>	<i>charis</i>
Wisdom of Solomon	8	17
Jesus ben-Sirach	24	40

Charis is, then, to some extent a *Wisdom* word! Whether this has any bearing on the use of the word in connection with Jesus is not apparent. Cf. MMW on Matt. 11:28-30, pp. 477 f.; also Ed. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 1913, pp. 277-308.

29 Luke 2:52; 4:22.

30 Cf. Strachan, *Fourth Gospel*, *ad loc.*, and Wright in MMW, *ad loc.*; also Canon Wade, *Documents*.

31 II Cor. 8:4, 6, 7, 19; cf. Armitage Robinson's *Ephesians*, App. on *charis*, p. 226, for the "play on words" here.

32 *Op. cit.*, p. 224; cf. also J. Moffatt, *Grace in the New Testament*, 1931, who cites Plutarch's *On Talkativeness* for the use of *charis* in the sense of winsomeness; his words are: "It denotes charm of character in action, charm of language."

33 Heb. חַכְמָה — *hakimah*; Gr. σοφία — *sofia*.

34 For Jesus as the "Wisdom of God" in John's Gospel, cf. Rendel Harris, *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel*, 1917; see I Cor., chs. 1; 2.

35 See for example, Prov. 3:19; 8:1, 22 *seq.*; 9:1 *seq.*; cf. Prov. 9:10.

36 See also Canon Wade and Goodspeed *ad loc.*

37 *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

38 John 6:63.

39 John 5:24.

40 John 14:24; cf. ch. 17:14, 17.

41 John 6:68.

42 II Cor. 2:16.

43 MTJ, pp. 65 f.

44 See Hoskyns in *Mysterium Christi*, 1930, p. 78. Abrahams in the cita-

tion at n. 37 above challenges this interpretation — without success, in our view.

⁴⁵ J. Klausner, *Jesus*, p. 384.

⁴⁶ See Mark 12:26 *seq.*

⁴⁷ See his *Jesus and the Law of Moses*, 1930, pp. 270 f.

⁴⁸ See his *The Religious Experience of the Primitive Church*, 1936, p. 349; also pp. 350 f.

⁴⁹ *Abingdon Commentary*, in *loc.*

⁵⁰ J. Klausner, *Jesus*, p. 384.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵² See his *Old Testament and After*, 1928, p. 298.

⁵³ See, for example, MJ, vol. ii, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Ex. 20:10 and Deut. 5:14.

⁵⁵ M. Shab. 7:2 *seq.*

⁵⁶ M. Erub. 8:2; 9:3; *et passim*.

⁵⁷ Eventually, on the authority of G. F. Moore, the opinion of Hillel prevailed and became the law; cf. *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 124.

⁵⁸ Mark 10:2 *seq.*

⁵⁹ Cf. Matthew's alteration of Mark in favor of the position of the School of Shammai, Matt. 19:9. See MMW, pp. 125 ff., for a good discussion of the passages; Paul supports Mark in I Cor. 7:10 *seq.*; cf. also Matt. 5:31 *seq.* and Bultmann, *Jesus*, pp. 74 f.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁶¹ Matt. 5:48 // Luke 6:36 (Q?).

⁶² Luke 6:45 // Matt. 12:35 (Q); cf. Luke 6:43 // Matt. 7:17-19 (Q).

⁶³ Cf. *Life*, p. 556.

⁶⁴ See MJ, vol. i, p. 461.

⁶⁵ Mark 12:29-31.

⁶⁶ M. Berakoth 2:2.

⁶⁷ Matt. 11:29 (M).

⁶⁸ See MMW, pp. 477 ff., and Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff.

⁶⁹ MMW, p. 478.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 556.

⁷¹ M. Sanh. 9:2; M. R. Sh. 3:7, 8; M. Aboth 1:16.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 224.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 96.

⁷⁴ Luke 17:7-10 (L).

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁷⁶ The best attestation of our contention in this section is found in the Sermon on the Mount. The Johannine version of this teaching is found in John 3:21; 7:17; 8:43 *seq.*; 14:21-24; *et passim*. The Sabbath controversies illustrate the same, for here the *intention* is above the "Law of the Sabbath" (cf. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, pp. 67 ff.).

⁷⁷ Bultmann, *ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷⁸ MSG, vol. i, p. cxx.

⁷⁹ Cf. his *Jesus, Man of Genius*, 1926, pp. xii f.

⁸⁰ Mark 8:11, 12; Matt. 12:38 *seq.* // Luke 11:29 *seq.* (Q).

⁸¹ Even in John (cf. John 4:48 and ch. 20:29), Jesus disparages a faith resting on miracles alone; cf. Borchert, *Original Jesus*, p. 404.

⁸² Goguel proposes that the "sign" which Jesus refused to give was one like Theudas promised his followers, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 5, 1). But this requires, as he admits, that the sign be demanded by Jesus' followers, rather than by his enemies, as the Gospel narrative avers; so the theory appears to us unsound (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 372, n. 1).

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.

⁸⁴ See MJ, vol. i, p. 421, n. 1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 421 f. He mistakenly supposes the "voice" of Matt. 3:17 to be a *Bat Qol*, as do also Montefiore and O. Holtzmann and others.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 404; cf. also Alan Richardson, *The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels*, pp. 14, 31.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁸⁸ Matt. 13:16 (M?); cf. Mark 4:10 *seq.* and Luke 10:23 (Q).

⁸⁹ See Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, *Riddle of the New Testament*, 1931, pp. 175 f.; Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 26, 57.

⁹⁰ John 6:26.

⁹¹ Cf. MMW on John 6:26.

⁹² *Op. cit.*, p. 219. Professor Dillistone has suggested that to the trilogy which we have discussed in this chapter of winsomeness, authority, and wisdom, a fourth characteristic of our Lord, that of "compassion," should be added. It would logically enter at this point, as we readily agree. See further on Jesus' love or compassion, however, in Ch. IV; cf. also Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

⁹³ Luke 7:18-23//Matt. 11:2-6 (Q); cf. also Matt. 9:35b (M).

⁹⁴ Matt. 10:7, 8 (M); Luke 9:2 (L); Mark 3:14, 15; 6:12, 13//Luke 9:6.

⁹⁵ Luke 11:20//Matt. 12:28 (Q).

⁹⁶ *Message*, pp. 75, 143.

⁹⁷ Luke 4:18, 19 (L); 7:18-23 (Q).

CHAPTER IV

¹ Cf. MJ, vol. ii, pp. 334 f., and Sanhedrin 98a; also *ibid.*, p. 350, and Jer. Ta'anit 63d, 64a.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 350 f.

³ Matt. 21:4, 5 (M); John 12:14, 15; cf. Mark 11:2//Luke 19:30.

⁴ *Antiquities* xviii. 1, 6.

⁵ Same reference as in n. 4.

⁶ Cf. MJ, vol. i, p. 89, and vol. ii, pp. 116, 345. R. Travers Herford has an important note on the relation of R. Akiba to this Messianic pretender and the general rabbinical attitude toward "messiahs"; cf. his *Judaism in the New Testament Period*, 1928, pp. 217, 226.

⁷ Ezek. 2:1, 3, 6, 8; 3:1; 37:3.

⁸ For a complete list of references see Dalman, *Words*, p. 235.

⁹ Dan. 7:13, 14.

¹⁰ Cf. MJ, vol. ii, pp. 334 f.; Goguel, *Life*, p. 576; and Rudolf Otto, *Kingdom*, pp. 176-218.

¹¹ Dalman's treatment will be found in *Words*, pp. 234-267; see also MSG, vol. i, pp. 64-69.

¹² Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.; accepted by Goguel, *Life*, p. 574; and essentially by Manson, MTJ, p. 212.

¹³ Same references as in n. 12.

¹⁴ Cf. reference, Ch. II, n. 58, to Mark 13:32 and "that day" and "that hour."

¹⁵ MTJ, pp. 227 f.

¹⁶ So, for example, C. H. Turner in Gore's *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, and Gould in *Mark* (I.C.C. Series); but see for contrary view, Major in *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, *ad loc.*

¹⁷ This presumption cannot be pressed in every case; see MTJ, p. 213.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 574; also Moore in MJ, vol. ii, p. 336; cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 248; the latter holds that the term "Son of Man" "was certainly sometimes understood to denote the Messiah" (p. 248), but that it "did not become a Messianic title" in general use like other terms to which he refers (p. 249). Cf. R. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 190, *et al.*

¹⁹ See Ch. III.

²⁰ F. C. Grant, *Gospel*, p. 160.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²³ See his *The History of Primitive Christianity*, 1937, vol. i, p. 30.

²⁴ See Ch. I.

²⁵ Mark 4:25.

²⁶ Mark 5:30, 34, 36.

²⁷ Matt. 28:17.

²⁸ MTJ, pp. 211-225.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 152.

³¹ This method of tabulating the materials pertinent to our study was suggested to the author as a result of his pondering over a somewhat similar technique in Manson's classical study of the *Teaching of Jesus* (see pp. 17-21). The methods, however, are not to be confused; in the latter instance, the groups forming the basis of study are *those addressed by Jesus*; here, on the contrary, they are *those which give witness to him and his works*.

³² Cf., e.g., Richardson, *Miracle-Stories*, pp. 27, 28.

³³ Cf. his *Riddle*, pp. 109, 110.

³⁴ *The Four Gospels*, *ad loc.*

³⁵ *Documents*, *ad loc.*

³⁶ Luke 23:47.

³⁷ For "Son of David" and its use in the Rabbinical Literature, cf. MJ, vol. i, p. 180, and vol. ii, p. 328, n. 2.

³⁸ Mark 10:47, 48 (Luke 18:38, 39; Matt. 20:30, 31).

³⁹ Sanhedrin 43a.

⁴⁰ See MM, art. *ἐπιστάτης* (*epistates*); also Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 336 ff.

⁴¹ Luke 5:5; 17:13.

⁴² Matt. 8:25; 17:4.

⁴³ Mark 8:27 *seq.*

⁴⁴ Mark 8:29.

⁴⁵ Matt. 14:33 (M).

46 John 6:68.

47 Note the complete character of this evidence: Mrk (Mark 1:11; 9:7; 13:32); Q (Luke 4:3, 9; 10:22); M (Matt. 28:19) for "Son of God"; and for "Messiah," Mrk (Mark 9:41); M (Matt. 16:20; 23:10); L² (Luke 24:26, 46); besides John's seven passages. It is certainly arguable that the Transfiguration incident and its witness to the "Son of God" type of Christology should be placed under Table IV and attributed to the consciousness of the disciples, rather than to that of Jesus, inasmuch as the "voice" in this case was clearly directed to them; cf. Mark 9:7. This would further substantiate their sudden conversion to the higher Christology already noted in the text. Schweitzer's reversal of the Caesarea Philippi and Transfiguration experiences is wholly unwarranted in our opinion; cf. *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1931, pp. 380 ff.

48 *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

49 *Life*, p. 167; cf. Strachan, *Fourth Gospel*, pp. 6-11; also R. Otto, *Kingdom*, p. 227 *et passim*.

50 MTJ, p. 216.

51 Pp. 213-225; cf. also Harnack's *Sayings of Jesus*, 1908, p. 239, n. 1.

52 Cf. *The Sayings of Jesus*, 1908, p. 239, n. 1; the transl. used here, however, is that of MSG, vol. i, p. 77.

53 *Op. cit.*, p. 576.

54 *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-155; cf. MTJ, pp. 225 ff.

55 Mark 8:31.

56 Cf. MJ, vol. ii, p. 335.

57 This presupposes a date for the Zech. 9:9 passage around 300 B.C. and some 250 years after the Deutero-Isaiah.

58 See Mark 12:28-34; Luke 6:27-36 (Q); cf. Eph. 5:25-27.

59 Luke 4:18, 19; Isa. 61:1-3; cf. Ch. III, n. 97.

60 Mark 3:27.

61 Luke 7:18-23//Matt. 11:4-6 (Q).

62 Isa. 61:1-3; cf. p. 113.

63 Mark 8:31 to 9:1; 9:30-32; 10:32-34.

64 Mark 10:35-45.

65 Luke 12:49-53 (Matt. 10:34-36); 14:27 (Matt. 10:38); 17:33 (Matt. 10:39).

66 Cf. the symbolic act of the "Lord come to his Temple" in Mark 11:11//Luke 19:45, 46//Matt. 21:12-17; see Ch. II, n. 54.

67 Mark 11:1-11//Luke 19:29-38//Matt. 21:1-11; cf. Lk's additional material in vs. 39-44 (L).

68 Cf. Strachan, *op. cit.*, and G. H. C. MacGregor, *The Gospel of John*, 1928, *ad loc.*

69 Matt. 21:11 (M).

70 MJ, vol. ii, p. 42.

71 Cf. *The Mishnah*, App. I, 20, p. 794. It is true that the reference cited pertains to the Feast of Tabernacles only (M. Sukkah 3:9), as does the Biblical passage upon which the custom is based (Lev. 23:40). The Hallel psalms, too, were sung on that occasion (M. Sukkah 3:9). This is a famous *crux*, and some of the older scholars held that there was confusion in the Gospel account between the Feasts of Passover and Tabernacles.

(See Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii, pp. 371 ff., for an account of this controversy.) But the *lulab* and Hallel psalms had a wider use; cf. M. Betz. 1:5; R. Shan. 4:3; Men. 3:6, etc.; I Macc. 13:51; II Macc. 10:7 for the use of the former, and M. Pesahim 10:6 for that of the latter.

⁷² *Antiquities* ix. 1, 2 and xiv. 4, 1.

⁷³ Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 392 f.

⁷⁴ John 12:16.

⁷⁵ Luke 19:39, 40.

⁷⁶ See discussion of Table II above.

CHAPTER V

¹ Mark 14:64.

² M. Sanhedrin 6:2; 7:5.

³ IV Ezra 7:28, 29; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9; I Enoch 105:2.

⁴ Mark 14:61 // Matt. 26:63.

⁵ Luke 22:67, 70.

⁶ BX, vol. v, p. 363.

⁷ Matt. 16:16.

⁸ John 1:49; 11:27; cf. ch. 19:7.

⁹ Acts 9:20; cf. ch. 13:33.

¹⁰ Professor MacKinnon so translates! Cf. *The Historic Jesus*, p. 67.

¹¹ O. Holtzmann argues for the order of the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* being the correct one. There the third temptation of the canonical Gospels appears to come first. Cf. *Life*, pp. 144 ff. If the argument in this book is sound, that cannot possibly be the correct order. Cf. Headlam, *Life*, p. 149 and n.

¹² Cf. Deut. 8:3.

¹³ This is the view also of Heb. 2:14.

¹⁴ Cf. Deut. 6:16.

¹⁵ Cf. Deut. 6:13.

¹⁶ MSG, vol. ii, p. 24.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Matt. 4:10 (M^p).

¹⁹ Matt. 4:8 // Luke 4:5 (Q).

²⁰ See above Ch. II and Ch. IV and references.

²¹ Perhaps both terms would be the same in the underlying Aramaic. The Syriac translates both alike by *to botari*. Cf., e.g., Mark 1:17; 2:14; and Matt. 8:22 in G. H. Gwilliam's *New Testament in Syriac*, 1905, and William Jennings's *Lexicon to the New Testament in Syriac (Peshitta)*, 1926, art. "*Botar*."

²² Mark 9:38 // Luke 9:49.

²³ Luke 9:57 *seq.* // Matt. 8:19 *seq.*

²⁴ Mark 10:28 // Luke 18:28 // Matt. 19:27.

²⁵ Mark 1:17 // Matt. 4:19.

²⁶ Mark 2:14 // Luke 5:27, 28 // Matt. 9:9.

²⁷ Mark 8:34 // Luke 9:23 // Matt. 16:24.

- 28 Mark 10:21//Luke 18:22//Matt. 19:21.
 29 Matt. 19:28.
 30 John 1:43; 8:12; 10:4, 5, 27; 12:26; 21:19, 22.
 31 Matt. 11:28.
 32 MTJ, pp. 202 ff., 320.
 33 Mark 4:9//Luke 8:8//Matt. 13:9; cf. Mark 4:23; Matt. 11:15 (M?);
 13:43 (M?); Luke 14:35 (L?).
 34 Mark 8:18.
 35 Mark 4:13.
 36 Luke 7:22a//Matt. 11:4a.
 37 John 1:39, 46.
 38 See pp. 110 ff.
 39 *Ibid.*
 40 See Mark 10:1, 17-22.
 41 Cf. *The Expositor*, 8th Series, vol. xxvi, pp. 38 ff., "Paul's Previous Meeting with Jesus."
 42 Mark 10:21, 22 and Rom. 7:7 seq.
 43 Cf. *The Growth of the Gospels*, p. 146.
 44 MTJ, p. 203.
 45 Mark 14:62.
 46 Matt. 26:64.
 47 Luke 22:70.
 48 Mark 15:2.
 49 Luke 22:67, 68.
 50 John 18:34.
 51 *Op. cit.*, *ad loc.*
 52 Luke 11:29-32//Matt. 12:39-42.
 53 Cf. also Matt. 12:6 (M), "a greater somewhat than the Temple is here" (again, neuter).
 54 Luke 11:14-26//Matt. 12:25-29.
 55 Cf. Streeter, *Four Gospels*, pp. 209 f., and Grant, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 144.
 56 Luke 10:21, 22//Matt. 11:27.
 57 Matt. 10:1 seq.; 11:20-24, 25-29; 16:13-20.
 58 At Luke 10:1, the Neutral and Byzantine texts generally have "seventy others," while the Western text (BD pc lat sy^{sc} — so Nestle), reads, "Seventy-two others." It is interesting to note that in the Greek "seventy-two" is $\delta\beta$, while "twelve" is $\lambda\beta$, that is to say, just the difference between an "o" and an "l." It is conceivable that a very early scribe thus wrote the number rather than spelled it out. In that case, the slip of the pen or a slight blot would have converted 12 into 72; is it possible that this was the case? If so, Luke would no more have had a "mission of the seventy" than any of the other Evangelists!
 59 Luke 10:17-20, 21-24; 9:18-27.
 60 MTJ, pp. 32, 110.
 61 Matt. 16:17 (M).
 62 Luke 10:21 (Q).
 63 Luke 10:23b, 24.
 64 Matt. 13:16, 17; cf. Mark 4:10-12//Matt. 13:10-15//Luke 8:9, 10.
 65 Mark 12:1-12//Luke 20:9-19//Matt. 21:33-46.

- 66 Cf. *The Message of Jesus Christ*, 1939, pp. 154 f.
 67 Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 3d ed., 1936, p. 13.
 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 124 ff.
 69 Mark 11:1-11, but see Luke 19:39, 40 (L); also pp. 149 ff.
 70 Mark 8:38.
 71 Matt. 7:21; 10:32, 33; 12:50; 15:13; 16:17; 18:10, 19, 35; 20:23; 25:34;
 26:29, 53.
 72 For example, John 2:16; 5:17; 8:19; 17:1; etc.
 73 Luke 2:49; 22:29; 23:34, 46; 24:49.
 74 Mark 13:32; 14:36.
 75 Matt. 18:19, 20.
 76 Did the rabbi mean that the two rabbis thus become the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant, as it were, supporting between them the divine Presence?
 77 Mark 12:35, 37 // Luke 20:41, 44 // Matt. 22:42, 45.
 78 The only exception which might be taken to this statement would refer to the presence of the title "Son of David" on the lips of one like Bartimaeus; see p. 136.
 79 Rom. 1:4.
 80 Luke 12:50 (Q).
 81 Mark 14:36 // Luke 22:42 // Matt. 26:39.
 82 Luke 4:43; cf. Mark 1:38.
 83 *Com. on Luke*, 1930, *ad loc.*
 84 John 4:34.
 85 John 5:19.
 86 Mark 3:35 // Luke 8:21 // Matt. 12:50.
 87 Mark 11:17.
 88 Mark 11:28.
 89 Mark 11:33; cf. above, pp. 68 f.

CHAPTER VI

- 1 Cf. *The Clue to History*, 1939, p. 6.
 2 Cf. *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, 2d ed. 1913, pp. 67 ff.
 3 See his *What Is Christianity?* 1901, pp. 52-77.
 4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 124-131.
 5 See Harnack's *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, 2d ed., 1908, vol. i, p. 407, n. 13.
 6 *Ibid.*
 7 So F. C. Grant in *Gospel*, p. 125.
 8 Mark 2:18-22.
 9 See *Parables*, p. 116, n. 2; cf. to the contrary opinion, Bultmann, *Jesus*, p. 64.
 10 Dibelius thinks the two parables were uttered by Jesus on another occasion; cf. *Message*, pp. 157 f. Still, he holds them to be original. Also original, he thinks, is the saying itself about fasting through v. 19a; vs. 19b, 20 were added by the Church, however. This does not destroy our argu-

ment, even if Dibelius' entire position be accepted; cf. further *ibid.*, pp. 139, 142.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

12 Luke 16:16//Matt. 11:12 (Q); cf. Luke 7:28//Matt. 11:11 (Q).

13 MTJ, p. 104; also MMW, pp. 425-427.

14 M. Ber. 2:5. Cf. Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41.

15 Mark 10:29//Matt. 19:29.

16 Luke 18:29.

17 Luke 14:27//Matt. 10:38 (Q); Mark 8:34.

18 Mark 13:13//Matt. 10:22//Luke 21:17, 12; John 15:21.

19 Luke 6:22//Matt. 5:10, 11 (Q).

20 *Ibid.*

21 Mark 15:9//Luke 21:12//Matt. 10:18.

22 Mark 8:35//Luke 9:24//Matt. 16:25; cf. Matt. 10:39//Luke 17:33 (Q).

23 Mark 9:37//Luke 9:48//Matt. 18:5.

24 Manson has shown in striking fashion that Jesus demanded of his disciples a type of allegiance to himself identical with that they gave to the Kingdom! Cf. MTJ, p. 205.

25 The passage reads:

"Draw near unto me, ye unlearned,
And lodge in the house of instruction.
Say, wherefore are ye lacking in these things,
And your souls are very thirsty?
I opened my mouth, and spake,
Get her for yourselves without money.
Put your neck under the yoke,
And let your soul receive instruction:
She is hard at hand to find.
Behold with your eyes,
How that I laboured but a little,
And found for myself much rest."

26 Cf. *Kingdom*, p. 170.

27 Mark 3:27; Luke 11:14-26//Matt. 12:24-29.

28 Mark 12:1-12//Luke 20:9-19//Matt. 21:33-46.

29 Isa. 5:1-7; cf. Jer. 2:21; 12:10 *seq.*; Ps. 80:8 *seq.*

30 Mark 11:9, 10.

31 See above pp. 187 ff. and MTJ, pp. 227 ff.; also MMW, pp. 146 f.; *per contra* see Dibelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 f.

32 Mark 2:13-17//Matt. 9:9-13//Luke 5:27-32.

33 Luke 7:34//Matt. 11:19 (Q).

34 Mark 10:45.

35 Luke 19:10 (L).

36 Luke 7:28//Matt. 11:11 (Q); cf. Luke 13:28, 29//Matt. 8:11, 12 (Q), and Luke 14:15-24//Matt. 22:2-14 (Q); see further below.

37 The figure of a banquet standing for the Kingdom of God was a common one; see MJ, vol. ii, pp. 363 ff.

38 Mark 6:5, 6//Matt. 13:58.

39 See *Christianity*, p. 107.

40 Mark 2:5//Luke 5:20//Matt. 9:2.

- 41 Luke 7:9//Matt. 8:10 (Q).
- 42 Matt. 8:13.
- 43 Mark 7:29//Matt. 15:28.
- 44 Mark 5:34//Luke 8:48//Matt. 9:22.
- 45 Mark 5:36//Luke 8:50.
- 46 Mark 10:52//Luke 18:42.
- 47 Matt. 9:28, 29.
- 48 Luke 17:19.
- 49 Mark 9:23.
- 50 Luke 11:9 seq.//Matt. 7:7 seq. (Q) and Mark 11:24//Matt. 21:22.
- 51 Add also Matt. 18:6 (M); cf. Mark 9:42.
- 52 Luke 7:1-10//Matt. 8:5-13 (Q).
- 53 Mark 5:28//Matt. 9:21; cf. Luke 8:44.
- 54 Luke 10:13-15//Matt. 11:21-24 (Q).
- 55 Mark 8:27-30//Matt. 16:13-20//Luke 9:18-21.
- 56 Mark 8:17-21//Matt. 16:6-10.
- 57 Mark 4:41//Luke 8:25//Matt. 8:27.
- 58 Matt. 16:17.
- 59 John 6:66-71; cf. v. 15.
- 60 Mark 8:31 seq. et al.
- 61 Mark 3:14.
- 62 See Danby's *Mishnah*, App. I, 3, 6, and references.
- 63 Mark 1:16-20; Luke 5:1-11; Mark 3:13-19a; Luke 6:12-19; cf. John 15:16.
- 64 Mark 3:13 seq.//Luke 6:13-16//Matt. 10:2-4; Acts 1:13.
- 65 Sanhedrin 43a.
- 66 See *Life*, pp. 28 ff.; other figures are given also for the number of the disciple band; cf. BX, vol. v, pp. 37 ff.
- 67 Cf. *Primitive Christianity*, 1937, vol. i, pp. 47 f.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 *Life*, p. 341; so also Creed, *Com. on Luke*, p. 87.
- 70 Cf. BX, vol. v, pp. 41 ff.
- 71 *Op. cit.*, p. 340.
- 72 Luke 9:57-62//Matt. 8:19-22 (Q); Mark 10:17-30//Luke 18:18-30//Matt. 19:16-22; Mark 8:34//Luke 9:23//Matt. 16:24; Luke 14:27//Matt. 10:38 (Q); cf. John 12:26.
- 73 Luke 6:13, 17 (Led).
- 74 Acts 1:15.
- 75 I Cor. 15:6.
- 76 Esp. in Led; cf. Luke 19:37; 24:9, 33.
- 77 *Op. cit.*, p. 87; Creed cites Harnack, Loisy, and E. Meyer as holding with the tradition; cf. also MMW, pp. 60 ff.; MTJ, pp. 364 f.; MSG, vol. ii, pp. 270 f.
- 78 I.e., "One sent."
- 79 BX, vol. v, p. 51; *shaliah* was the Aramaic term used for the "delegate of the congregation who led them in prayer" in the worship of the synagogue: so L. Rabinowitz in *Companion*, p. 460.
- 80 Cf. *Life*, pp. 340 ff., and MMW, p. 61.
- 81 Mark 6:7.

⁸² Jer. 13:1 *seq.*; 18:1-17; ch. 24.

⁸³ Hos., chs. 1 to 3.

⁸⁴ Zech. 6:9-15; 11:4-17.

⁸⁵ Only in Matt. 23:10 (M), a late (in the ministry) and doubtful reference!

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁸⁷ BX, vol. iv, on Acts 1:15.

⁸⁸ M. Sanhedrin 1:6.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ See above, pp. 210 f.

⁹¹ Acts 1:22.

⁹² Mark 6:1-6a // Matt. 13:54-58; Luke 4:16-30.

⁹³ See Mark 3:13-19a // Luke 6:12-19, following Mark 2:1 to 3:6 // Luke 5:17 to 6:11.

⁹⁴ Luke 5:1-11.

⁹⁵ John 18:20 is obviously no exception to this statement. Nor is Luke 13:10, which is from L and in the "longer interpolation," and therefore is of uncertain date.

⁹⁶ Cf. *Studies*, 1st Series, pp. 12 ff.

⁹⁷ On the general subject of "extirpation" as related to the synagogue and the congregation of Israel, see M. Kerithoth.

⁹⁸ *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, 3d ed., 1920, p. 69.

⁹⁹ Luke 14:15-24 // Matt. 22:1-10 (Q).

¹⁰⁰ Micah 4:7.

¹⁰¹ Joel 2:32.

¹⁰² MTJ, p. 422. Dibelius takes this parable as genuine, but he would as usual dispute the Christian *midrash* of it! Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 150.

¹⁰³ Cf. the full discussion of the passage in MMW, pp. 494 ff.

¹⁰⁴ See Harnack's *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, 2d ed., 1908, vol. i, p. 407, n. 3.

¹⁰⁵ On the use of the terms "synagogue" and "church" in pre-Christian times, Burton has a valuable note in *Com. on Galatians* (I.C.C. Series), 1928, pp. 417-420.

¹⁰⁶ Mark 14:12-25; John 18:28.

¹⁰⁷ Mark 14:14.

¹⁰⁸ The evidence for "my" (μου) is as follows (cf. Legg):

(1) add.: $\Sigma\text{BCDLW}\Delta\Sigma\Psi$ 1.22.fam.13 (exc. 124) 543.7.28.59.1071.
a b f l q r vg. Sin. Sah. Geo. Orig.

(2) om.: $\text{APXYT}\Theta\Pi\Phi$ 0116 118.209.124.157.565.579.700.892 al-
pler. c ff i k Pesh.HI. Boh. Aeth. Arm.

All this adds up to a fairly certain *Western* and *Byzantine* omission, and an *Alexandrian* inclusion of the word in question. The motive for the *Western* omission is indicated in the text.

¹⁰⁹ Mark 14:22; Luke 22:14-17; John 13:2-20.

¹¹⁰ Luke 7:44.

¹¹¹ I Sam. 25:41.

¹¹² Pp. 204, 218.

¹¹³ Luke 22:29 *seq.*

¹¹⁴ John 15:1 *seq.*

¹¹⁵ Acts 2:42.

¹¹⁶ I Cor. 1:9.

¹¹⁷ I Cor. 10:16.

¹¹⁸ I Cor. 11:28.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Anderson Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 ff.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹²¹ W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, 1925, pp. 172 ff.; cf. Anderson Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 ff.; also R. Otto, *Kingdom*, pp. 277-284.

¹²² Pp. 211-215. The date of the book is 1940; it is on the whole a scholarly work of the first rank.

¹²³ John 15:14, 15.

¹²⁴ I Cor. 11:24 *seq.*

¹²⁵ Luke 22:19.

¹²⁶ *The New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii, 2d ed., 1896 and 1907, *Introduction*, App., p. 64. Professor Dillistone, who accepts the *Habūrāh-Qid-dūsh* theory with reservations, has said, I find, exactly what I am trying to say above. His words are: "The breaking of the bread was simply a continuation of the common meals which the disciples had been accustomed to take in the presence of their Master Who had blessed and broken the bread in a way which none other had ever done and Whose Presence, therefore, they still felt to be overwhelmingly real in their midst. Gradually, however, the breaking of the bread tended to become a specially solemn repetition of what had happened on the night of the Last Supper, and within the general meal, or following upon it, there came to be an intense focussing of attention upon the actions with the bread and the wine which recalled all that Jesus had accomplished through His Suffering and Death and Resurrection." Cf. essay on "The Evangel and the Breaking of the Bread," pp. 56, 57 in *Continuing Stedfastly*, Toronto, 1942.

¹²⁷ Mark 14:22, 24; cf. Zech. 9:11.

¹²⁸ *Fourth Gospel*, p. 266.

¹²⁹ John 15:13.

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